

# MEMBERS OF LEVITE FAMILY AND IDEAL MARRIAGES IN *ARAMAIC LEVI DOCUMENT, VISIONS OF AMRAM, AND JUBILEES* (\*)

## *Summary*

The marriage practices of the members of the family of Levi in general and their preference to marry within their family in particular have received attention in the recent scholarship. This study analyzes how *Jubilees*, the *Aramaic Levi Document* and the *Visions of Amram* portray the ideal marriages of the members of the Levite family. After carefully reading those passages of these texts, that highlight women and ideal partners, I argue that these texts are interested exclusively with women of Levite origin. The primary function of women in these texts is to provide the right pedigree for the members of the Levite family. In addition to the previously argued views, I propose that the members of the Levite family, who are treated as early prototypes for the high priest, are subject to the marriage rule of the high priest who had to marry a daughter of another priest. This rule triumphed over all other regulations, including the Pentateuchal marriage laws. By making the Levites take spouses from their own family, the authors turn the Levites into exemplary figures who followed the priestly rulings before they were given at Sinai. Finally, it will be pointed out that the *Aramaic Levi Document* and the *Visions of Amram* do not reduce Levite women to a reproductive role but develop the concept of ideal spouses further than *Jubilees* does.

## 1. Introduction

THE marriage practices of the members of the family of Levi in general and their preference to marry within their family in particular have received attention in the recent scholarship. The

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most pioneering study on this theme is Betsy Halpern-Amaru's complex monograph on women in the book of *Jubilees*, a text that highlights the family of Levi. (1) Halpern-Amaru argues that in *Jubilees*, women and their family credentials are particularly significant. By bringing women into the narrative and highlighting their presence in it, the author aims at demonstrating the purity of the priestly lineage of the family of Levi. Halpern-Amaru's conclusion remains contradictory regarding women's presence in *Jubilees* because, on the one hand, the female figures are indeed emphasized and they appear more regularly in *Jubilees* than in the respective passages of the Hebrew Bible. (2) On the other hand, Halpern-Amaru acknowledges that such treatment of Levite women, which simply concentrates on demonstrating the purity of family lineage, does not convey necessarily any information about the Levite women *per se*. Rather, by bringing women into the narrative, the author addresses polemics concerning intermarriage. (3)

More recently, William Loader has pointed out that concern about intermarriage is also highlighted in other Jewish texts of the late Second Temple era that foreground members of the Levite family, namely the *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD) and the *Visions of Amram* (VA). (4) These works encourage members of the house of Levi to marry within their families, yet the texts seemingly differ in their views of permissible marriages. While the author of *Jubilees* regards marriage between cousins as the ideal and disallows unions between closer relatives, the authors of the other two texts also accept uncle-niece and aunt-nephew marriages. Why do these texts differ in this way?

In this study, I will give a closer look to the female figures on the one hand and to the marriage practices reflected in *Jubilees*, ALD and VA on the other. I will inquire how these three texts portray the ideal marriages of the members of the Levite family. After carefully reading the passages of these texts, highlighting in particular their depiction

(1) Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 60; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

(2) Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 3-7.

(3) Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 151-159, claims that this is because the writer of *Jubilees* is fundamentally addressing polemics of intermarriage. The only woman whose role is emphasized in a more complex way in *Jubilees* is Rebecca. However, as she is not directly a Levite woman, she is not taken into account in this study. I will return to this theme below.

(4) William Loader, *Enoch, Levi and Jubilees on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in the Early Enoch Literature, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Book of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), 286-305 emphasizes that the author's major concern is sexual wrongdoing caused by intermarriage. Loader's theory is further developed in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in Sectarian and Related Literature in Qumran* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009), 326, 356-359.

of women and ideal partners, I will argue, as does Halpern-Amaru, that the primary function of women in these texts is to provide the right pedigree for the members of the Levite family. In addition to the previously argued views, I will propose that the members of the Levite family, who are treated as early prototypes for the high priest, are subject to the marriage rule of the high priest who had to marry a daughter of another priest. This rule triumphed over all other regulations, including the Pentateuchal marriage laws. Finally, *ALD* and *VA* do not reduce Levite women to a reproductive role but develop the concept of ideal spouses further than *Jubilees* does.

## 2. The Marriages of Levites in Hebrew Bible

Before turning to the marriage practices of women of the family of Levi in *ALD*, *VA*, and *Jubilees*, it is necessary to consider their depiction in the earlier texts, i.e., those preserved in the Hebrew Bible. Such a survey enables us to trace how these marriages are developed in later texts. Levite marriages are referred to in the Pentateuchal genealogies. First, Exod 6:20-25 provides the genealogy of Moses and Aaron. This list refers to the following women:

Amram married Jochebed his father's sister and she bore him Aaron and Moses, and the length of Amram's life was one hundred thirty-seven years. Aaron married Elisheba, daughter of Amminadab and sister of Nahshon, and she bore him Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. The sons of Korah: Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph; these are the families of the Korahites. Aaron's son Eleazar married one of the daughters of Putiel, and she bore him Phinehas. (Exod 6:20, 23-25a). (5)

This list that refers to the Levites mentions two women: Jochebed and Elisheba. Exodus 6:25 mentions Eleazar's marriage to one of the daughters of Putiel, but her name remains unknown. It is important to acknowledge that the LXX preserves a variant reading of Exod 6:20 that includes the name of Miriam: "And Amram took Iochabed, the daughter of his father's brother, for his own wife, and she bore him both Aaron and Moyses and Mariam, their sister." (6) Another list that refers to the Levites in Num 26:57-62, attests Jochebed and Miriam. (7)

(5) The translations follow NRSV unless otherwise indicated.

(6) Trans. Larry J. Perkins in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). This reading demonstrates that Miriam was early on considered as a member of the Levite family. For the relationship between the MT and the LXX readings, see Hanna Tervanotko, *Denying Her Voice: The Figure of Miriam in Ancient Jewish Literature*, forthcoming.

(7) "The name of Amram's wife was Jochebed daughter of Levi, who was born to Levi in Egypt; and she bore to Amram: Aaron, Moses, and their sister Miriam"

The Levite women who are named in the lists of the Pentateuch are thus Amram's wife Jochebed, his daughter Miriam, and Aaron's wife Elisheba. While Miriam is known from other passages of the Hebrew Bible, (8) Jochebed and Elisheba are figures that appear only in the lists. Significantly, Exod 2:1, the passage that attest to the marriage of Moses' parents, does not preserve the name of Jochebed. It simply refers to **בַּת לֵוִי**, leaving the exact significance of the term open. Exodus 6:20 and Num 26:59 follow the interpretation where the figures are no longer just any Levite man and woman, but immediate descendants of Levi in different generations. Jochebed is Levi's daughter and Amram is Levi's grandson. (9)

The marriage between Amram and Jochebed produces a problem from the point of view of the legislation. Most concretely it stands in contradiction with various stipulations of the Hebrew Bible concerning permitted marriages. According to Leviticus, a marriage between aunt and her nephew was prohibited: "You shall not uncover the nakedness of your father's sister; she is your father's flesh. You shall not uncover the nakedness of your mother's sister, for she is your mother's flesh" (Lev 18:12-13). (10) Astonishingly, the figure of Amram clearly contradicts the ruling of Leviticus by marrying his aunt. (11) In lists that otherwise only rarely include women, the author's decision to include the name of Jochebed appears a conscious choice to highlight the union between the two figures.

It is possible that the author of the list was influenced by the priestly marriage rules. According to the Holiness Code, the priests and Levites were not free to marry anyone, but their marriages were regulated by legislation. Leviticus 21:13-15 stipulates the rules for the high priest ("The priest who is exalted above his fellows" in Lev 21:10):

He shall marry only a woman who is a virgin. A widow, or a divorced woman who has been defiled, a prostitute, these he shall not marry. He

(Num 26:59). The Levite list of 1 Chr (6:1-30) mentions Miriam as the only Levite woman: "The children of Amram: Aaron, Moses, and Miriam" (1 Chr 6:3).

(8) Exod 15:20-21; Num 12:1-15, 20:1; Deut 24:8-9; Mic 6:4.

(9) See e.g., William H. C. Propp, *Exodus: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 2; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 148, who points out that Exod 2:1 simply refers to a man from the house of Levi (**אִישׁ מִבֵּית לֵוִי**) and a Levite girl (**בַּת לֵוִי**). Hence, in this passage Moses' father was affiliated to the Levites whereas Moses' mother could be interpreted broadly as a Levite, but the term **בַּת לֵוִי** could also be translated more literally, i.e., "Levi's daughter."

(10) Lev 20:19 supports this by expanding the law to concern the mother's sister. "You shall not uncover the nakedness of your mother's sister or of your father's sister, for that is to lay bare one's own flesh; they shall be subject to punishment."

(11) Propp, *Exodus*, 276-277.

shall marry a virgin of his own kin, that he may not profane his offspring among his kin; for I am the Lord; I sanctify him.

This ruling in general and v. 14 in particular articulates that the high priest is required to marry a virgin of his own kin (מעמיו). The precise meaning of the term מעמיו is not clear, because עם can be translated in different ways. First, it denotes “people” in general. Yet another possibility is to translate it in a more restricted way to refer to a particular group of people or kin, e.g., the priestly family. This seems to be the case at least in Lev 21:1 and 4, which state that a priest is allowed to mourn his family members (בעמיו). In these verses the term עם refers to the priestly family. (12) Therefore, many scholars have argued that in the context of Lev 21:14 the term does not simply indicate that the high priest should marry a Jewish woman. Rather, similar to Lev 21:1 and 4, the term עם here indicates he is required to marry a woman of another priestly family. (13) Leviticus 21:15 seems to confirm this interpretation by referring to the offspring of the high priest as “his kin” (בעמיו). All in all, it appears in light of Lev 21:1, 4, and 15 that also Lev 21:14 employs the term עם in a more restricted way. This verse claims that the high priest is required to marry the daughter of another priest. It may be that the authors of the lists that mention Jochebed follow this ruling and want to demonstrate that Amram married according the Pentateuchal marriage regulations concerning the high priest.

### 3. Rewritten Marriage Practices of Levites

#### 3.1 *Marriage Practices of Levites in Aramaic Levi Document*

Let me now turn to the later texts that develop the Levite marriages, *ALD*, *VA*, and *Jubilees*. (14) The earliest text that preserves

(12) Sarah Shectman, “Social Status of Priestly and Levite Women,” in *Levites and Priests in History and Tradition* (ed. Mark Leuchter and Jeremy M. Hutton; Ancient Israel and Its Literature 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2011), 83-99, 88-89.

(13) Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3A; New York: Doubleday, 1991, 2000, 2001), 1820; Michael L. Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 134-135; Christine E. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Inter-marriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 27. Note that the Hebrew Bible contains more marriage regulations. A stricter marriage regulation concerning the priests is found in Ezek 44:22: “They [the priests] shall not marry a widow, or a divorced woman, but only a virgin of the stock of the house of Israel, or a widow who is the widow of a priest.”

(14) It has been proposed that the three texts have some intertextual connection, and they may even depend on each other. For discussion, see e.g., Émile Puech, “Visions d’Amram,” in *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXII: Textes araméens, première partie*:

references to the nuptials of the Levite women during the late Second Temple era that will be taken into consideration in this study is the *Aramaic Levi Document*. This text is generally thought to derive from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E. (15)

## Melka

The *Aramaic Levi Document* mentions Levite women in a few places. The first of these concerns Levi's wife Melka. (16) She appears in a passage that discusses Levi's marriage: "In the twenty-eighth year I took a wife for myself from the family of Abraham my father, Melka, daughter of Bethuel, son of Laban, my mother's brother. She became pregnant by me and bore a first son." (*ALD* 11:1-2). (17)

This passage represents the earliest preserved tradition that attests to Levi's marriage. The writer presents Melka as the daughter of Levi's maternal uncle, i.e., his cousin. (18) The detailed style of narration

4Q529-549 (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 285-287; Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "Burying the Fathers: Exegetical Strategies and Source Traditions in *Jubilees* 46," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran. Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15-17 January, 2002* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 135-152; James C. VanderKam, "*Jubilees* 46:6-47:1 and 4QVisions of Amram," *DSD* 17 (2010): 141-158; Liora Goldman, "The Burial of the Fathers in the Visions of Amram from Qumran," in *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: The Biblical Patriarchs in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz; BZAW 439; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 231-250; Hanna Tervanotko, "Trilogy of Testaments: Testament of Qahat vs. the Aramaic Levi Document and the Visions of Amram," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures* (ed. Eibert Tigchelaar; BETL 270; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 41-59.

(15) Puech, "Visions d'Amram," 285; Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone and Ester Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 19-22. Cf. Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 71, suggests that the text may date as early as to the fourth century B.C.E. James Kugel, "How Old is the Aramaic Levi Document," *DSD* 14 (2007): 291-312, 305-312, dates it to the second century B.C.E. period after and dependent on *Jubilees*.

(16) For the transcription of the name, I follow Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*.

(17) The translations of *ALD* follow Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*. This quote is from *ibid.*, 95.

(18) Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 181. Note that in *Jubilees* this union is mentioned in 34:20 where Melka is referred to. "The name of Levi's wife was Melcha, one of the daughters of Aram—one of the descendants of Terah's sons." Trans. James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 511; Scriptores Aethiopici 88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989). To compare the different traditions, see the tables in Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 182-183.

indicates that the writer wants to present Melka's genealogical credentials to the audience. It demonstrates that Levi did not marry just any Israelite, but his kinswoman, an individual who already existed in parallel literary traditions. In light of the Pentateuchal genealogies, this is not a surprise. Since one of the thematic priorities of the texts that highlight the Levites is to emphasize the importance of endogamy, it is logical that Levi himself is argued to marry within his own family. (19) Levi, who is presented as a high priest, had to marry appropriately. (20) It should be noted that some ancient Jewish texts present a marriage between cousins as the ideal. (21)

The *Aramaic Levi Document* refers to Levi's age two times. The calendar used by the author suggests (*ALD* 11:1 and 12:7) that Levi was 28 years old when he married. This is an interesting detail, as many texts that idealize marriage tend to suggest that people married young. (22) I will turn to this question below.

#### Jochebed

The author of *ALD* pays particular attention to Jochebed's marriage. The first-person narrator of the text, Levi, is told to be actively involved in matching his offspring with appropriate spouses (*ALD* 12:1). He arranges his sons to get married with the daughters of his brothers (i.e., their cousins). (23) These events are mentioned only briefly and the names of their spouses are not preserved in this text. The names of the women that Levi's sons marry do not appear to be important to the writer. After dealing with the marriages of his sons, the narrator Levi turns to the marriages of the following generation, in particular his grandson Amram:

(19) Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 3-7; Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 304.

(20) It has been suggested that the purpose of Melka's detailed pedigree is to strengthen the position of Levi next to that of Judah in the genealogy. See, Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 118; Loader, *Enoch, Levi and Jubilees on Sexuality*, 177. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 304-305, adds that such genealogy demonstrates that Levi continued the example of his father and grandfather whose wives, Rebecca, Leah and Rachel came from the same branch of Abraham's family.

(21) This is the case at least in *Jubilees* where the head of the line frequently marries the daughter of his father's brother. See Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 40, 148-149.

(22) Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity*, 104-105.

(23) "In the sixte[enth] year, we [en]tered into the land of Egypt and to my sons [I took wives] from the daughters of my brothers at the time of marriageability of their times and there were [born] sons to them." (*ALD* 12:1). For marriages between cousins, see n. 21.



The names of the sons of Gershom (were) Libni and Shimei; and the names of the sons of Kohath (were) Amram and Izhar and Hebron and Uzziel; [and] the names of the sons of Merari were Mahli and Mushi. And Amram married my daughter Jochebed while I was still alive, in the ninety- fo[urth] year of my life. And I called Amram's name when he was born, Amram; for I said when he was born, 'This one will raise up the people from the la[nd of Eg]ypt. Accordingly [his name] will be called the exalted pe[ople].' On the same day he was born, he and my daughter Jochebed. (*ALD* 12:2-4).

This passage confirms the tradition preserved in the Pentateuch (Exod 6:20; Num 26:59) that Jochebed and Amram were married. It seems that this union was of particular importance for the writer because it is the only marriage of its generation that receives such interest, while the marriages of the previous generation including his son Qahat are not recorded at all. (24) Further, even the exact year when the two married is recorded in the text.

The figure of Amram appears to be of particular importance for the author because it is claimed that instead of Amram's father Qahat, Levi named Amram. Moreover, the author provides an onomastic midrash for the name:

And I called Amram's name, when he was born, Amram; for I said when he was born, "This one will raise up the people from the la[nd of Eg]ypt. Accordingly, [his name] will be called exalted pe[ople]." (*ALD* 12:4)

These details highlight the significance attached to Amram's position in his family's lineage. Amram's grandfather Levi knows that his offspring will play a remarkable role in the Israelite history. The importance attached in particular to Amram's generation within the line of the Levite family at least partly explains the heightened interest in his marriage (cf. *ALD* 12:3). Amram is the future priest of the Levite family and he marries according to the rules of the high priesthood.

The fact that Amram's marriage contradicts the marriage legislation in *ALD* has been explained in a variety of ways. Some modern scholars have suggested that the author of this passage pretends to be unaware of the conflict with the marital legislation that the union between Amram and Jochebed creates. (25) The rabbinic tradition

(24) For the Qahat traditions, see Tervanotko, "Trilogy of Testaments: Testament of Qahat vs. the Aramaic Levi Document and the Visions of Amram," 41-59.

(25) Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 312; Ian C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 72; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 286; Robert R. Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram (4Q543-547)* (Studies in Biblical Literature 135; New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2010), 64.



argues that before the revelation at Sinai only maternal relationships were considered and that Jochebed was only the half-sister of Amram's father Qahat (*b. Sotah* 58b). (26) By ignoring the Pentateuchal marriage laws, the author could imply that it was not in effect during the pre-Sinai era. I am not totally convinced by the argument that the author of *ALD* anticipates the approach of the rabbis. In what follows, I demonstrate this conclusion is not needed in the case of *ALD*.

First of all, the figure of Levi takes an active role in finding suitable spouses for his offspring, e.g., in *ALD* 12:1, which reads: "In the sixte[enth] year, we [en]tered into the land of Egypt and to my sons [I took wives] from the daughters of my brothers at the time of marriageability of their times and there were [born] sons to them." This passage clarifies that, for the author, there is nothing coincidental in the marriages that Levi arranges. Rather, the narrative contains conscious choices that highlight the significance of the right lineage for the author. (27) Further, the clear emphasis on Amram and Jochebed's union in the text (*ALD* 12:3-4) suggests that there is not anything embarrassing to the author about their relationship. In contrast, as we shall see below, the author deals with the two figures as an ideal match.

Evidently the Pentateuchal marriage laws continued to be debated during the Second Temple era. The various recapitulations of the marriage laws preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls repeat the prohibition to marry a close relative in rephrased rules. Such rulings are found in 4QHalakha A (4Q251) 17 3-5, (28) 4QTemple Scroll<sup>b</sup> (4Q524) 15-22 3-4, (29) 11QTemple Scroll<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) LXVI, 15-17, (30) and the

(26) Sidnie White Crawford, "Traditions about Miriam in the Qumran Scrolls," *Studies in Jewish Civilization* 14 (2003): 33-44, 38-39.

(27) Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees on Sexuality*, 105, claims that this emphasis in the narrative fulfills Isaac's command to marry within the family expressed in *ALD* 6:1-5.

(28) "A man [may not expose] the nakedness of the sister of [his] mo[ther] or his father; it is depravity. And a woman may not marry the brother of] her father or the brother of her mother." Trans. E. Larson, M.R. Lehmann, and L. Schiffman in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

(29) "No] m[an] may marry [his aunt,] [whether paternal or maternal; that] is immoral. No man is to ma[r]ry his brother's daughter or his] sister's daughter; that is abhorrent." Trans. M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook with N. Gordon in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*. For the references to women preserved in the *Temple Scroll*, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Laws Pertaining to Women in the Temple Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; Leiden: Brill; Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1992), 210-228.

(30) "A man shall not take his father's sister or his mother's sister, for this is wickedness. A man shall not take his brother's daughter or his sister's daughter, for this is an abomination." Trans. Y. Yadin in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

*Damascus Document* (CD) V, 7-11. (31) Importantly these recapitulations of the Pentateuchal marriage laws do not only prohibit aunt-nephew marriages but they even extend the ruling to cover uncle-niece marriages that are not explicitly prohibited in the laws of the Pentateuch. The attempt to expand the law with additional strictures suggests that the interpretation and possibly practice of the law varied from community to community. (32) Such a multiplicity of marriage rules reflect an on-going debate and imply that it would be difficult to pretend to be unfamiliar with the existing rules.

On my view, rather than ignoring the Sinai laws or viewing the generations prior to the exodus as not subject to these laws, the author highlights that the characters acted as priests already before Sinai. Levi is instructed in “the law of the priesthood” in *ALD* 5:8. Other passages also apply priestly instructions to the Levites (e.g. the wood offerings in *ALD* 7:1-7 and the sacrifices in *ALD* 8:1-6). Therefore, Levi is instructed into the priestly regulations and laws even before the law is given at Sinai. Further, it is particularly significant that *ALD* 6:4 preserves instructions concerning legitimate marriage candidates. In this passage, the figure of Levi is told to “marry a woman from my family.” “From my family” is a rendering of *מִן מִשְׁפַּחַת*, suggesting a more conservative interpretation of a legitimate marriage partner than the regulation preserved in Leviticus. While Lev 32:10 asked marrying a woman of kin (*עַם*), *ALD* explicitly requires a Levite to marry someone from the same family (*מִשְׁפַּחַת*). Levi’s example is certainly relevant to the

(31) “Furthermore they marry each man the daughter of his brothers and the daughter of his sister, *vac.* although Moses said, ‘Unto the sister of your mother you shall not draw near; she is the flesh of your mother’ (cf. Lev 18:13). But the law of consanguinity is written for males and females alike, so if the brother’s daughter uncovers the nakedness of the brother of her father, she is the flesh (of her father).” Trans. E. Cook in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

(32) Several scholars have argued that these stipulations suggest that kinship marriages were practiced despite the ban. Such practice is witnessed to in the *Damascus Document* while referring to another group: “And they marry each one his brother’s daughter or sister’s daughter.” See Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document* (SBLAB 21; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 121. Kinship marriages appear frequently in later rabbinic literature. It seems that in the early centuries C.E. texts uncle-niece marriage is sometimes advocated as the ideal (e.g., *b. Yeb.* 62b-63a; *b. Sanh.* 76b; *t. Qidd.* 1.4). Leonie J. Archer, *Her Price is beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Graeco-Roman Palestine* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 133, argues that the Jews of Hellenistic Palestine did contract niece-uncle marriages and regarded them as permissible; Tal Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine: An Inquiry into Image and Status* (TSAJ 44; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 75-79. See also Thomas Hieke, “Endogamy in the Book of Tobit, Genesis and Ezra-Nehemiah,” in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér; JSJSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 103-120.

figure of Amram, whose significance is already communicated to Levi. Hence, the marriage laws apply him too.

Returning to the depiction of the union between Amram and Jochebed in *ALD*, the author adds a telling detail, claiming that they were born the same day: “On the same day he was born, he and my daughter Jochebed.” (*ALD* 12:4). (33) Loader has proposed that the mention of the two figures being born the same day should be seen as “ameliorating the anomaly” that marrying one’s aunt could otherwise have created. (34) Thus, the writer of the text may have aimed at explaining that despite marrying across the generations, there was no generational gap between the figures.

Meanwhile, Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel suggest that the same birthday allowed the two figures to be married when they both were thirty years old. (35) Levi claims that Jochebed was born “In the sixty-fourth year of my life she gave birth (*or*: she was born)” (*ALD* 11:11). In addition, the *ALD* 12:3 states: “And Amram married my daughter Jochebed while I was still alive, in the ninety-fo[urth] year of my life.” This implies that, according the writer of the *ALD*, the characters were 30 years old when they got married. Greenfield, Stone and Eshel think that 30 may somehow represent the ideal age for the author. (36) This point will be elaborated further in section 4, where the complementary material of *VA* is taken into consideration.

Analysis of the passage of *ALD* referring to marriage practices allows us to conclude that the author has particular ideas concerning the ideal unions. These unions follow the rules set for the high priest. Amram’s readiness to contravene Pentateuchal marriage regulations and prioritize priestly regulations strengthens his role as a priest and an exemplary character.

### 3.2 *Marriage Practices of Levites in Visions of Amram*

The *Visions of Amram* is a text that is preserved in five to seven manuscripts from Qumran (4Q543-549). (37) The text is usually dated

(33) Jochebed’s birth is narrated in *ALD* 11:10-11: “And I was with her [Melka] once more and she conceived and bore me a daughter, and I named her Jochebed. I said when she was born to me, ‘for glory was she born to me, for glory for Israel.’ In the sixty-fourth year of my life she gave birth (*or*: she was born) on the first of the seventh month, after we enter[ed] Egypt.”

(34) “Ameliorating the anomaly” is explicitly from Loader, *Sex in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 324.

(35) Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 194.

(36) *Ibid.*

(37) Puech, “Visions d’Amram,” 285-289; Devorah Dimant, “The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and*

a little later than *ALD*. While in *ALD* the protagonist of the text is Levi, this text concentrates on the figure of Amram, Levi's grandson. The Levite women of this text have been previously studied by Loader, with a similar focus on marriage practices (see below). (38)

### Jochebed

The text mentions Jochebed several times, though some of the passages remain disputed because of manuscript deterioration. One of the most interesting references concerns the period when war broke out between Egypt, Canaan, and Philistia. The text reports that Amram departs for Canaan to bury the bones of those ancestors who had died during the Israelites' stay in Egypt. During his time away from home, war breaks out between Canaan and Egypt (4Q543 4 3 = 4Q544 1 4-6) and Amram and Jochebed remain on opposite sides of the border for 41 years. While describing these events, Amram elaborates his relationship with his wife.

and the [borders] of Egypt were closed and it was not possible [for my wife Jochebed to come from Egypt to Canaan during] forty-one years and we were not able to return to Egypt [ ] therefore [ war] between Egypt and Canaan and Philistia. [During] this [time] Jochebed [my wife] was far away from me in the land of Egypt for with me] she was not. *vacat* I [did not] take another wife *vacat* [ ] and w[omen] everything, for I would return to Egypt safely and see my wife's face [ ] and (4Q544 1 5-9). (39)

The author of the text claims that Amram did not meet his wife for a total of 41 years. Despite such a long time away from his wife, he did not take another wife from the Canaanite women. (40) The author's emphasis on Amram's self-control certainly aims at demonstrating his pious nature and his rejection of intermarriage. (41)

*Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 197-205; Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram*, 89-101, date the *Visions of Amram* between 225-200 and c. 150 B.C.E. The nature of this text is also discussed in Liora Goldman, "Dualism in the Visions of Amram", *RevQ* 95 (2010): 421-432.

(38) Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 324-326.

(39) Trans. E. Cook in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

(40) Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine* 85, claims that Jewish society of the Second Temple period was polygamous. It seems that VA reflects an accepting attitude towards such practices. Cf. Ben Sira 37:11 states: "Never consult a woman about her rival."

(41) See Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram*, 49-55.

Yet, rejection of intermarriage is not the only literary motif that, according the author, stops Amram from marrying the local Canaanite women. The first person narrator, Amram repeats the name of his wife several times in the text highlighting how they stayed far away from each other (4Q544 1 3, 5, 7). Therefore, Amram's decision to refuse Canaanite women has been viewed as arising from his feelings for his wife Jochebed, as his desire to look upon "my wife's face" reveals. (42) Amram does not refuse the other women simply because mingling with foreign women is morally wrong and against the ideal of endogamy. In addition, the author depicts Amram as a loving and affectionate husband, who waits to see his wife. Such a motif is unusual in these early Jewish texts. Spouses are described as having obligations towards one another, but only seldom is true companionship referred to in the texts. (43) Meanwhile, spouses are mostly dealt with from the perspective of a family with its biological ties rather than as two individuals with mutual feelings. Despite this general tendency in the texts of the Second Temple era, it has been proposed that some compositions contain hints of emotional bonds between spouses. For instance, Pseudo-Phocylides praises longlasting marriage: "Love your own wife, for what is sweeter and better than whenever a wife is kindly disposed toward (her) husband and a husband toward (his) wife till old age, without strife divisively interfering?" (44) In light of the relative absence of sources testifying to the emotional dimensions of marriage, the passage preserved in VA remains exceptional.

### Miriam

Another female figure that features prominently in the *Visions of Amram* is Amram's daughter Miriam. The text refers to Miriam several times; two of the references directly concern Miriam's nuptials and offspring. (45) The first passage where Miriam's own marriage is of concern appears in the (relatively) well-preserved beginning of the *Visions of Amram*.

(42) Similarly Halpern-Amaru, "Burying the Fathers: Exegetical Strategies and Source Traditions in Jubilees 46," 149; Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 324-325.

(43) Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity*, 225-249, 249.

(44) Lines 195-197. Trans. Pieter W. Van der Horst, "Pseudo-Phocylides," *OTP* 2: 565-582, 581. Further, Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity*, 241, proposes that the figure of Judith is praised for not remarrying despite her being a "very beautiful and attractive woman" (Jud. 8:7). Her decision not to remarry may be due her feelings towards her late husband Manasseh.

(45) Here I take into consideration only those references that add to the question of marriage directly. For a more complex analysis that takes into consideration all passages that mention Miriam, see Tervanotko, *Denying Her Voice*, forthcoming.

A cop[y of the book ‘The Words of the Visio]n of ‘Amram son of Kohath [son of Levi.’ It contains everythi[ng] that[ he told his ]son[s and everything that he commanded] them on the day [he] died, in the one-hundred and thirty-sixth year, that is the year of his death, in the one-hundred and fifty-second year of Israel’s exile in Egypt. When the time came to [him, he sent] and called to Uzziel his younger brother [and gave] him Miriam his daughter in marriage when she was thirty years old. Then he gave a feast lasting seven [days] and he ate and drank at the feast and rejoiced. Then when the days of the feast were over, he sent for Aaron his son, [who] was a[bou]t [twenty] years old [and he said] to him, ‘Summon me, my son, the messengers, your brothers from the house of [ (4Q545 1a I, 1-9). (46)

This passage reveals that the alleged narrator of the text, Amram, gives his daughter Miriam in marriage to his younger brother Uzziel. (47) Amram, like his grandfather Levi (*ALD* 12:1-3), seemingly takes an active role in ensuring the right marriage for his family. The effort he makes to arrange Miriam’s marriage before his death suggests that Amram has a more than passing interest in this matter. He seeks to have Miriam married appropriately.

This passage contains some interesting parallels with *ALD*. Notably, when Miriam’s marriage to Uzziel is discussed, it is mentioned that Miriam was thirty years old at the time of her wedding (4Q545 1 a I, 6). Miriam’s age has been even more difficult to explain than that of Amram and Jochebed (cf. *ALD* 12:3). It has been pointed out that, for a woman, thirty was a surprisingly high age to marry. (48) It is especially interesting that the author specifies Miriam’s age, considering that the age of Uzziel is missing. This may be because of manuscript deterioration or because Miriam was simply a more well-known figure than her spouse. (49)

Further, *VA* narrates the marriage as a happy occasion. This is reflected in the use of the verb “to rejoice” (חדה) in the passage. (50) Miriam’s wedding feast lasted seven days, a length of time modeled on the fact that Jacob too celebrates his marriage to Leah for seven

(46) Translation by E. Cook in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

(47) 4Q543 1a-c 5-7 = 4Q545 1 I, 5-7.

(48) Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 324 claims this is surprising and refers to “ameliorating anomaly,” yet he is not sure how it should be understood here. *Contra*, Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine*, 66-69, who submits that while it was unusual for women to marry late, it happened. E.g., queen Shelamzion-Alexandra married after she was 27. In light of Ilan’s discussion, there is no need to see “anomaly” in this context.

(49) Tervanotko, *Denying Her Voice*, forthcoming.

(50) Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 325.

days (Gen 29:27), just as Samson's first marriage is followed by a feast of seven days (Judg 14:12, 17). A seven-day feast is also recorded in the later rabbinic texts e.g., the Palestinian Talmud. (51) The length of the feast allows the audience to assume that the union with Uzziel was believed to be Miriam's first marriage. She was not a widow or a divorced woman. (52)

Miriam's marriage to Uzziel is peculiar. Notably, VA is the only known text that witnesses to Miriam's marriage to Uzziel. Meanwhile, Miriam's nuptials are known in other ancient Jewish literature. Josephus writes about Miriam's marriage, claiming she was married to Hur (*Ant.* 3.54), a figure known from Exod 17:8-16. In contrast, the rabbinic traditions bear witness to Miriam's marriage to Caleb (*SN* 78; *b. Sotah* 11b-12a; *Exod. Rab.* 1,17). It has been argued that the purpose of the rabbinic interpretation was to integrate the figure of Miriam into the genealogies of the kings. (53) What is interesting in these early references to Miriam's marriage is that both Caleb and Hur are characters mainly known as Judahites in the ancient Jewish literary traditions. (54) Thus, the earliest witness to Miriam's marriage, VA, is actually the only text that explicitly refers to Miriam marrying another Levite. Uzziel's tribal affiliation is explicated in Exod 6:18 and Num 3:19. (55) These passages clarify that he was son of Qahat and grandson of Levi. Exodus 6:18 preserves the names of Uzziel's sons—Mishael, Elzaphan, and Sithri. Further, Leviticus 10:4 refers to Mishael and Elzaphan as the sons of Uzziel, the uncle of Aaron. (56) Elzaphan is appointed the head of Kohathites in Num 3:30-31, where their tasks are also listed. (57)

(51) Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity*, 178.

(52) Tervanotko, *Denying Her Voice*, forthcoming.

(53) Devora Steinmetz, "A Portrait of Miriam in Rabbinic Midrash," *Proof-texts* 8 (1988): 37-61, 44-45.

(54) For Hur's tribal affiliation, see e.g., Exod 31:2; 1 Chr 2:19-20; 2 Chr 1:5. *Contra* White Crawford, "Traditions about Miriam in the Qumran Scrolls," 41, who thinks Hur could be associated with the Levites. Further, see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* 3:60, who talks about "The Judean Hur" in relation to the fight against the Amalekites. Unfortunately Ginzberg does not provide further references to this tradition or in particular Hur's origin. Hence, it is plausible that the authors of the rabbinic traditions, like Josephus assume that Hur is the character from 1 Chr 2:29-21.

(55) "The sons of Kohath: Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel" (Exod 6:18), "The sons of Kohath by their clans: Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel" (Num 3:19).

(56) Cf. 4Q549 2 8-9 that may refer to Sithri as one of the children of Miriam. For the reconstructions of the line see, White Crawford, "Traditions about Miriam in the Qumran Scrolls," 33-44; Tervanotko, *Denying Her Voice*, forthcoming.

(57) "Elizaphan son of Uzziel as head of the ancestral house of the clans of the Kohathites. Their responsibility was to be the ark, the table, the lampstand, the altars, the vessels of the sanctuary with which the priests minister, and the screen—all the service pertaining to these."



As I pointed out above, the recapitulated marriage laws extended the prohibition against marrying a close relative to include uncle-niece marriages. (58) Therefore, while the marriage of Miriam and Uzziel was acceptable according the Pentateuchal ruling (as usually understood), in light of the rewritten marriage laws it was illicit. Here the author of VA deals with his tradition the same way as the author of *ALD*. (59) For this writer as well, the Levite family is already a priestly family. This may be specified in 4Q547 frag. 8, which refers to Levi's sacrifices. (60) Therefore, it may be that the author interprets the figure of Uzziel, who is associated with the priestly lineage, at least partly in this light. Moreover, it is possible that the author wanted to show that, like the other Levite protagonists, Miriam married within her family according to the same regulations. Further, Miriam's marriage to Uzziel clearly brings the figure of Miriam into closer relationship with the Levites than in the Pentateuchal traditions, where she remains the sister of Moses and Aaron. Miriam's marriage to Uzziel guarantees that their children are Levites on both the father and mother's side. The purpose of the author may have been to integrate the figure of Miriam more closely into the Levite lineage and to suggest that the Levites did not marry out of the tribe. (61)

### 3.3 *Marriage Practices of Levites in Jubilees*

*Jubilees* creates a record for the marriages of the sons of Jacob (*Jub.* 34:20-21). While Judah and Joseph's wives are known already in the Hebrew Bible, most of the lists found in this text contain names that are new characters in the ancient Jewish literary traditions.

(58) See n. 28-31. Despite the prohibition, this form of marriage continues frequently being mentioned in the Jewish texts of the late Second Temple period, and even later on. Some rabbinic texts encourage men to marry their nieces, if they are available. See Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity*, 156-158.

(59) The author's evident ignorance of the marriage legislation has been explained in similar ways to *ALD*. Cf. White Crawford, "Traditions about Miriam in the Qumran Scrolls," 38-39; Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram*, 64-65.

(60) 4Q547, frg. 8 2-4 reads:

"all that Levi his son offered up[on the altar

3. which] I said to you, upon the altar of stone[s

4a. ] he will be [

4. a]ll the sacrifice[.

Trans. E. Cook in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

(61) Tervanotko, *Denying Her Voice*, forthcoming. There are different reasons why the figure of Miriam was integrated into the Levite lineage. One of the reasons was to render her less problematic for the ancient audience. Miriam was known as an independent figure in the early Pentateuchal texts with some sort of a leadership role (Exod 15:20-21; Mic 6:4). In the later texts, as we have seen, she appears as a member of a family of prominent men.

### Melka

The most prominent character in the list is the wife of Levi. According to *Jubilees*, she is “one of the daughters of Aram” and “one of the descendants of Terah’s sons” (*Jub.* 34:20), Terah being the father of Abraham. As Melka descends from the house of Terah, she is comparable to the women of Genesis, who are also known as heirs of Terah. Abram marries Sarai, “daughter of his father” (i.e., Terah) in *Jub.* 12:9, while Isaac marries Rebecca, “daughter of Bethuel the son of Nahor, Abraham’s brother” in *Jub.* 19:10. Melka’s origins in the family of Terah strengthen her role in the text, in comparison with the other wives of the sons of Jacob who do not derive from this family. (62)

### Jochebed

The second woman of the Levite family that is addressed in *Jubilees* is Jochebed. She is referred to in *Jub.* 47:8: “And she [Miriam] went and called your mother, Jochebed. And she gave a wage to her. And she nursed you.” This short reference in *Jubilees* is somewhat peculiar, given the author’s general interest in dealing with the lineages in detail. Elsewhere, the writer spends a great deal of time analyzing the pedigrees of the female figures (e.g., *Jub.* 8:1, 6-7 and 19:10). Strikingly, the lineage of Jochebed is not addressed at all! It has been argued that this was due to the author’s disapproval on the marriage of Moses’ parents. (63) The degree of consanguinity between Moses’ parents caused a problem for the writer of *Jubilees*, who prohibited unions between aunt and nephew. (64) Unlike the authors of *ALD* and *VA*, who extensively report on Amram and Jochebed and add to the narratives concerning them, the author of *Jubilees* does not approve of Levite unions between family members that violated Pentateuchal law. At least, the marriage between aunt and nephew was too consanguineous for the writer. Thus, instead of referring to it, the author avoids it as much as possible. A similar approach to Amram and Jochebed is reflected in other ancient Jewish texts. (65)

(62) Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 118. Note that Terah himself receives a lot of attention in *Jubilees*, e.g., *Jub.* 11:9-12, 17; 12:1-8, 28-31.

(63) Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 123; Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees on Sexuality*, 294-295.

(64) Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 123. The *Aramaic Levi Document*, chs. 11-12, describe the birth of Jochebed to Levi. See section 3.1 in this article.

(65) The ancient authors address the union between Amram and Jochebed in different ways. For instance, concerning the list of Exod 6:20 that attests to the marriage, the LXX preserves a variant reading, which could allow for Jochebed being only

## 4. Discussion

### 4.1 *Thirty as the Ideal Age to Marry*

Significantly, number thirty appears both in *ALD* and *VA*. The *Aramaic Levi Document* refers to this age when discussing the marriage of Jochebed and Amram, who married when they were thirty years old. The number thirty has been suggested to be the author's attempt to "ameliorate the anomaly" that the marriage between aunt and nephew created. (66) Thus, demonstrating that these characters did not have any age gap could have been the author's way to render the situation where one marries a close relative more acceptable. Other commentators have suggested that thirty represents "the ideal age". (67) Neither of these suggestions provides a full explanation for the use of the number, and both leave a lot of room for speculations of what "anomaly" or "ideal age" actually mean.

It is possible that thirty may have been the ideal age to marry. Satlow discusses the ideal age to marry in various ancient Jewish documents and demonstrates that although many texts idealized youth, it seems probable that, at least for men, the actual preferred age to marry was close to thirty. (68) For instance, Philo of Alexandria claims the proper age to marry is between 28 and 35 (*De opificio mundi* 103). (69) Satlow proposes waiting until they were thirty allowed men to establish a household and not depend on their father's estate. (70) The texts suggest that women typically married earlier, in their late teens. Nevertheless, many texts display a picture of women actively participating in choosing a spouse, e.g., Aseneth's involvement in *Joseph and Aseneth*. This hints that the authors of the texts thought women had to be old enough to participate such a practice. They were not entirely dependent on the choice of their fathers or other male relatives. (71)

In the Hebrew Bible, thirty is not referred to as the ideal age for marrying, but does appear as an age befitting other activities. Some

of the tribe of the Levi, not Levi's daughter (i.e., "took from the daughters of Levi"). Moreover, the 2nd century B.C.E. writer Demetrius the Chronographer (frag. 2:19) avoids too close consanguinity when he writes that: "Amram took as a wife his uncle's daughter Jochebed." Trans. J. Hanson, "Demetrius the Chronographer," *OTP* 2:843-854, 852. By making Jochebed Amram's cousin Demetrius may have attempted to render this marriage acceptable for people who otherwise would not have approved it.

(66) Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 324.

(67) Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 194.

(68) Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity*, 104-105.

(69) For more references, see Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity*, 106.

(70) Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity*, 132.

(71) *Ibid.*, 107.

people are told to have children when they are thirty years old (e.g., Gen 11:14, 18, 22). (72) Procreation may in some way connect with the idea of reaching maturity at thirty. Moreover, Joseph enters into the service of Pharaoh (Gen 41:46) at age of thirty. Other ancient Jewish literature also refers to thirty as the age of maturity. A passage of the *Damascus Document* that discusses the requirements of various officers that preside over the community is particularly illuminating. The text states that the minimum age for functionaries was thirty. For example, the overseer of the camps had to be between 30 and 50 years old, "master of every secret of men and of every deceptive utterance" (CD XIV, 9-10). Further, the *Rule of the Congregation* (1Q28a) stipulates (I, 13-15) that a thirty year-old can take part in legal disputes and is eligible to command, judge, and act as official for his tribe and clan. Further, the *War Scroll* (1Q33 VI, 13-14) explains that those who take part in a war as part of a cavalry must be "from thirty to forty-five years." These references demonstrate that at least some Jewish circles considered thirty as the age when a person reaches maturity. (73)

Apart from designating the general age of maturity, the number thirty appears to have a special meaning in relation to priestly duties. Various passages of the Hebrew Bible mention the age of thirty in relation to the priestly function. For instance, in the census of the Levites, only men who are thirty are counted (Num 4:3, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43, 47; 1 Chr 23:3). In light of these passages, it seems that especially for the Levites, the age of thirty marked the strategic point of maturity. Further, Numbers 4 refers to the division of the Levites by tasks which are only assigned to those over thirty. Even more, the age of thirty plays a prominent role in the *Damascus Document*, which refers to this as the minimum age of the presiding priests. According to this text (CD XIV, 6-8; 4Q269 10 2): "The priest who presides at the head of the general membership must be between 30 and 60 years old, learned in the Book of Meditation and in all the regulations of the Law, speaking them in the proper way." This connection is particularly relevant for the present discussion. It reveals that a leading priestly figure had to be at least thirty years old. While the *Damascus Document* does not provide any explanation for this, the question arises

(72) Further, at least according to the Armenian tradition Adam and Eve had their first intercourse after thirty years of expulsion from the garden and begat a child. See Michael Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve: Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (SVTP 14; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 92; Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 194.

(73) Cf. According to the *Rule of the Congregation* (1Q28a I, 9-11) men could marry when they were twenty years old. Thus, the opinions on the right age to marry varied.

whether the minimum age of thirty was set because this was generally regarded the age when a man reached maturity.

Therefore, it is possible that the authors of *ALD* and *VA* had in mind the age of maturity when they wrote about marriages within the Levite family. The authors wanted to emphasize that the figures of Levi and Amram were mature and thus could be regarded as priests. This connection between the priesthood and the age of thirty strengthens my earlier argument that the characters were stated to have married according to the priestly regulations.

As women did not have any priestly functions, it is interesting that the authors of *ALD* and *VA* emphasize that both Jochebed and Miriam married when they were thirty. I think the number thirty is linked to these characters for different reasons. I argued above (3.2) that the author of *VA* seeks to make the union between Jochebed and Amram even more perfect. It is possible that they were depicted as born on the same day for this reason. If the ideal was for men to marry younger women, Amram's marriage to his aunt did not fit. The reason for outlining Miriam's age may have been the general tendency of the late Second Temple era to deal with her as a prominent member of the Levite family. (74) Perhaps the author wanted to emphasize that she married within her family; even more than that, she married at the same age as her parents had, thus creating continuity between the different generations.

#### 4.2 *Levite Women of Primary and Secondary Affiliation*

My analysis above demonstrates that passages narrating the marriage of the members of the Levite family are interested in the women of primary affiliation who were born in the Levite family, i.e., who do not gain their tribal affiliation through marriage. (75) The figures of Jochebed and Miriam perfectly meet the criteria of primary affiliation: as daughters of the Levites, they are of Levite origin by birth.

The lists of the Hebrew Bible already show that Aaron's wife Elisheba did not attract an interest equal to that of Miriam and Jochebed. One reason for the uneven treatment of these figures may be Elisheba's family background. According to Exod 6:23, Elisheba was "daughter of Amminadab and sister of Nashon." Meanwhile, Num 2:3, which lists Nashon as one of the Judahite leaders of the wilderness era, suggests that she belonged to the tribe of Judah. Thus, Elisheba's affiliation to the Levites was not by birth. A secondary affiliation was considered

(74) Tervanotko, *Denying Her Voice*, forthcoming.

(75) For the primary and secondary affiliations of women, see Shectman, "Social Status of Priestly and Levite Women," 83-99.

weaker than a primary one, (76) and therefore authors of these Peanta-teuchal re-narrations may have considered Elisheva a weaker character than Jochebed and Miriam who are mentioned in the lists. Moreover, Aaron's marriage to Elisheba raises the question whether Aaron as a high-priest did not marry according to the marriage legislation. As the authors of *ALD* and *VA* have a strong emphasis in appropriate priestly marriages, it is possible that Elisheba's Judahite origin disqualified her from the narratives that highlighted the perfect Levite lineage.

Whereas the Judahite Elisheva may never have played a role in *VA*, it is interesting that the same text witnesses Miriam marrying a Levite, in contrast to all other ancient Jewish texts that attest to her marriage with a Judahite. It is possible that the author composed Miriam's marriage account to fill out or to correct a potential mistake in the perfect lineage of the Levite family. If Miriam's marriage to another figure was known by the time that *VA* was written, this was clearly unacceptable for the writer, who could record only Miriam's marriage to another Levite. Miriam's marriage to a Judahite could have been problematic for the writer. After all, the reputation of the Judahites was questionable in the Hellenistic era, due to Judah's marriage to a Canaanite woman and his illicit relationship with his daughter-in-law Tamar (Gen 38, cf. *Jub.* 41). The critical views towards this character are reflected in e.g., *Jubilees* (41:23) and the *Testament of Judah* (12:6). Both texts refer to Judah's sin, marrying a Canaanite woman. This polemic treatment of the figure of Judah and the Judahites and the author's strong preference on marriages within the Levite family at least partly explain why *VA* is the only preserved ancient Jewish text that mentions Miriam's marriage to Uzziel. (77)

## 5. Conclusions

The preceding analysis of the marriage practices of the Levite family in *ALD*, *VA*, and *Jubilees* demonstrates that these three texts display similar general ideas on ideal marriages for the Levite family. The male Levites, treated as priests *avant la lettre*, must have married according to priestly marriage regulations. As the authors considered

(76) Ibid., 99.

(77) Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram*, 68, interprets the lists in the opposite way. He claims that Miriam's integration into the Judahites may have been a later development that served political purpose. While I agree with him on the first point he makes (i.e., that Miriam's integration into the Judahites should be regarded later than her affiliation with the Levites), the historical analysis of the relationship between the Levites and the Judahites of the later eras goes beyond the scope of this study.

the members of the family of Levi to be priests already prior to the Sinai revelation, this rule became more dominant than the marriage legislation that prohibited union between family members that were too closely related. Despite the fact that the three texts together promote unions between kinsmen, they display clear differences over what degree of kinship was acceptable for such marriages. *ALD* and *VA* are not troubled by unions involving aunt-nephew marriage. In contrast, the author of *Jubilees* appears to be uneasy with aunt-nephew marriages and tries to avoid this topic as much as possible.

All three texts are interested exclusively with women of Levite origin. It is significant that references to Aaron's Judahite spouse are completely absent from their narratives. By making the Levites take spouses from their own family, the authors turn the Levites into exemplary figures who followed the priestly rulings before they were given at Sinai. Further, such unions prohibiting extra-tribal exogamy strengthened the Levite family.

Whereas women of the family of Levi receive very little attention in *Jubilees*, *ALD* and *VA* elaborate on the relationship between Amram and Jochebed. These texts seem to reflect another line of thinking concerning these marriages that goes beyond the priestly marriage legislation. *ALD* claims that Jochebed and Amram were born the same day and *VA* reflects the emotional part of their relationship. These narrative elements are unusual in ancient Jewish literature, which tends to emphasize marriage as a contract. Apart from the perfect lineage provided by this union, *ALD* and *VA* suggest that the marriage between Amram and Jochebed was considered an ideal match.

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# BEN SIRA MS A FOL. I RECTO AND FOL. VI VERSO (T-S 12.863) REVISITED (\*)

## *Summary*

This article offers some remarks on the reading of the offset letters preserved on the first lines of Ms A folio I recto and folio VI verso. As Eric D. Reymond has recently observed, the traces on Ms A I recto, lines 1–4 indeed reflect parts of a Hebrew version that corresponds to a portion of text hitherto only known from the Syriac translation. Discussing the reading of the offset traces proposed by Reymond, the article offers an analysis of its own and demonstrates how image manipulation programs can help to both reconstruct missing text as well as check the results. Among other observations the article proposes a reconstruction of the barely legible offset traces on Ms A VI verso, which seems to suggest that the now lost Hebrew text of Sir 16:26b–29 might correspond to an expanded textual form as preserved in the Syriac version of Codex Ambrosianus (7aI).

## 1 Introduction

THE first lines of folio I recto and folio VI verso of Manuscript A (henceforward Ms A) of the Hebrew Ben Sira contain offset letters that have transferred from their opposing pages. While folio VI verso shows only very few traces of the text of the following and hitherto not recovered folio, the traces on the recto page of Ms A folio I allow for a fairly reliable reconstruction of some words, which were written on lines 1–4 of the verso page of the preceding, and still missing, very first folio of that manuscript (1). Interestingly, the remnants

(\*) All images taken from Ms A are printed with kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. In addition I wish to thank *Stephen Hamilton*, *Manuel Schäfer*, and *Dr. Eric D. Reymond* for carefully reading a preliminary version of this article and correcting my English.

(1) As Ms A folio I and VI are actually part of one *bifolio* (shelfmark: Cambridge University Library T-S 12.863) comprising the text of Sir 3:6b–5:10 and 14:11–16:26a

of the Hebrew text preserved due to the offsetting left on the next recto page do not match in any way a Hebrew retroversion of the Greek text (henceforward SirLXX) of Sir 1:1–3:6a (2). Instead, they show striking similarities to a passage found at the end of chapter 1, which until now was considered to be unique to the Syriac version of Ben Sira (henceforward SirSyr), where the Greek text SirLXX 1:22–27 is replaced by a passage that is about twice as long (SirSyr 1: \*1–\*12) (3).

While preparing a publication arguing that, based on the offset traces, the lost first leaf of Ms A must have contained a Hebrew version corresponding to SirSyr 1: \*9–\*12 on the first four lines of its verso page, I was informed by Professor Jean-Sébastien Rey during a conference on Ben Sira held at the University of Eichstätt in Summer 2014 that Eric D. Reymond (Yale Divinity School) had independently made the very same observation in an article that in the meantime has been published in *Revue de Qumrân* (4). In this article besides treating some general questions (such as how to distinguish the phenomenon of offset letters from ink bleeding through the surface of the writing material) and instances where offset letters may even help to read damaged letters Reymond offers his readings of the offset letters found on the first and last page of Ms A. Based on the photographs available on the website [www.bensira.org](http://www.bensira.org) (5) he very convincingly demonstrates that the traces of offset letters found in lines 1–4 of Ms A folio I recto indeed bear witness to a Hebrew version of the last part of the Syriac extra verses, which belong to the end of chapter 1 (SirSyr 1: \*9–12\*).

it can be assumed that the hitherto not recovered pages also were part of a single *bifolium*, then comprising a Hebrew version of Sir 1:1–3:6a and 16:26bff.

(2) Text and numbers for the Greek text of Sirach follow the edition of Joseph Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (2d ed.; Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum XII,2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980).

(3) These are the numbers used by Núria Calduch-Benages, Joan Ferrer, and Jan Liesen, *La sabiduría del escriba: Edición diplomática de la versión siríaca del libro de Ben Sira según el Códice Ambrosiano, con traducción española e inglesa / Wisdom of the Scribe: Diplomatic Edition of the Syriac Version of the Book of Ben Sira According to Codex Ambrosianus, with Translations in Spanish and English* (Biblioteca Midrásica 26; Estella: Verbo Divino, 2003). Michael M. Winter, *A Concordance to the Peshitta Version of Ben Sira* (MPIL 2; Leiden: Brill, 1976) numbers the 24 *stichoi* (= 12 verses) alphabetically (*c–z*) counting v. 20 as *a* and *b*. Conleth Kearns designates the passage as 1:20A i–xii (A for Addition; cf. Conleth Kearns, *The Expanded Text of Ecclesiasticus: Its Teaching on the Future Life as a Clue to Its Origin* (originally presented as the author's thesis, Rome 1951; ed. Pancratius C. Beentjes; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 11; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 110 [74]).

(4) Eric D. Reymond, "New Hebrew Text of Ben Sira Chapter 1 in Ms A (T-S 12.863)," *RevQ* 27 (2015), 83–98. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Reymond, who kindly provided me with a copy of his manuscript.

(5) The website is maintained by Gary A. Rendsburg and Jacob Binstein, Department of Jewish Studies, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, USA.

Since the first Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira were discovered in the Cairo Geniza more than 100 years ago, seemingly nobody has tried to read the offset letters and use them as a means for recovering text of missing folios. In fact some offset letters in Ms A have been erroneously interpreted as mostly illegible traces written underneath (very much like a palimpsest) (6). Now the fact that two scholars independently made the same observation within the same year may be seen to corroborate its validity. However, as scholarly discussion will not benefit from just doubling already clearly stated arguments, I can confine myself to some additional remarks, focusing on those cases in which my own readings and reconstructions differ from those proposed by Reymond.

Before moving on a few remarks on the materials used and the methodology are in order. My own observations are based upon the digital photographs available on [www.bensira.org](http://www.bensira.org) using the GNU Image Manipulation Program GIMP (Ver. 2.8.14). Looking at the images, some features of the program proved to be extremely helpful. Besides zooming in I regularly flipped the images horizontally, in order to turn the mirrored shape of the offset letters into their regular alignment. Sometimes inverting colours enhanced the contrast. GIMP also turned out to be helpful in checking readings of the often damaged offset letters. For instance, if the trace left by an offset letter suggests one or more identifications, one simply digitally cuts out the letters which seem good candidates and places them over the damaged letter to see if it matches at all, or which letter provides the best match. Likewise, working with an image manipulation program helps to countercheck reconstructions of missing text using cut out letter forms found in a certain manuscript as templates to ensure that the shape, size, and spacing of letters in the reconstructed portions correspond to those used in the manuscript.

As the handwriting of a scribe may slightly change from page to page, we may assume that the letter shapes found on a page directly preceding or following a missing page are likely to bear the greatest resemblance with those used in the missing part. If this assumption is correct, as a rule of thumb we should prefer as templates for reconstructing missing text the shapes of letters which lie nearest to other more distant letters.

(6) Cf. e.g. Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (reprint of the original edition with corrections, Leiden: Brill, 1997; VTSup 68; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 35, n.7 regarding the (mirrored) offset marks the word *חסתיד* (found on Ms A III verso, line 2 [= Sir 9:3]) left on Ms A IV recto, line 2 (= Sir 10:13). For further references and discussion, cf. Reymond, "New Hebrew Text," 4f., who credits Jean-Sébastien Rey for having recognized the offset letters in relation to Sir 10:13 (cf. Jean-Sébastien Rey, "Si 10,12-12,1: Nouvelle édition du fragment Adler (ENA 2536-2)," *RevQ* 100 (2012): 581).

## 2 Reconstructing damaged text: Two examples

Concerning some of the readings offered by Reymond, the following remarks are in order. As for the reconstruction of the words **יד זבחי** (Sir 7:31) in the middle of Ms A III recto 3, Reymond (forthcoming) explains how the offset of **שיחה** (Sir 6:35) on the previous verso page (i.e. Ms A II verso 3) has merged with the traces of **יד זבחי** so that “the marks on III recto do not easily reflect these words.” (p.8) In addition to Reymond’s comments one could add the observation that not only Ms A II verso left marks on Ms A III recto, but also that the same happened the other way round. As a result the words **יד זבחי** (Ms A III recto 3) also left traces on the words **כל שיחה** (Sir 6:35) on Ms A II verso 3 (cf. figures 1 and 2), further corroborating the reconstruction of **יד זבחי**. The vertical stroke of the **ז** in **זבחי** is visible in the *lamedh* (ל) of **כל** as well as the right rounded part of the *beth* (ב), which can be seen between the *kaph* (כ) and the *lamedh* (ל) of **כל**, resulting in the *kaph* (כ) looking almost like a *samekh* (ס). The left upper and lower parts of the **ב** of **זבחי** are clearly preserved on III recto 3, as well as the upper horizontal stroke of the **ח** (*heth*), traces of its left vertical line, and traces of the **י** (*yodh*).

As Reymond correctly notes, studying offset letters is more than an academic exercise but helps us in reconstructing damaged text.

A similar example mentioned by Reymond (p. 8) is the reading **הושיט** proposed by some scholars for the traces in Ms A III recto 4 (Sir 7:32) (7). Although Reymond is unable to read the offset marks

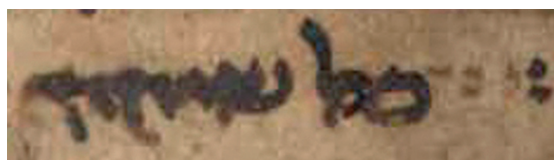


Fig. 1: Detail of Ms A II (T-S 12.864) verso 3



Fig. 2: Detail of Ms A II (T-S 12.864) verso 3, reversed

(7) Cf. for example the transcription **הו[ח]שיט** given by *Martin Abegg* on [www.bensira.org](http://www.bensira.org) (accessed 2014-10-06).

on Ms A II verso 4, a closer computer assisted look (using GIMP to flip Ms A II verso and inverting colours for better contrast) indeed corroborates the proposed reading. To begin, the offset traces of יד (following הושיט in Sir 7:32) can be seen quite clearly on Ms A II verso 4. The horizontal stroke of the ד and part of the י are visible above the ה and the ש of ותשחוק (= Sir 6:36). The left vertical line of the ט belonging to הושיט is preserved on III recto 4 but has left an offset mark on II verso 4 which blends with the middle and left-most stroke of the ש (in regular view, on the mirrored image it is the middle and right-most stroke). The upper part of the right stroke of the ט (not preserved on III recto 4) is visible above the right vertical stroke of the ה (belonging to ותשחוק, left if the image is flipped). Next to it II verso 4, shows the offset י above the left vertical line of the same ה (right when flipped). Traces of the י are also preserved on III recto 4, as well as parts of the left and middle stroke belonging to the preceding ש. The traces of the ש perfectly fit the offset traces on II verso 4 where the upper parts of the three lines of the ש are still discernible above the ו and the ק respectively. To the right of the ב of בסיפי (the word following ותשחוק on II verso 4) one finds the traces of the ו, while the ה is clearly visible above and in the ב and ס of בסיפי, the horizontal stroke stretching over the ב and ס and its vertical strokes leaving traces in both letters.

Thus, taking into account the offset traces, reading הושיט in Sir 7:32 is more than an educated guess and Abegg's transcription could even be rendered הוֹשִׁיט instead of הוֹשִׁיט (8).



Fig. 3: Detail of Ms A II (T-S 12.864) verso 4, with colours inverted

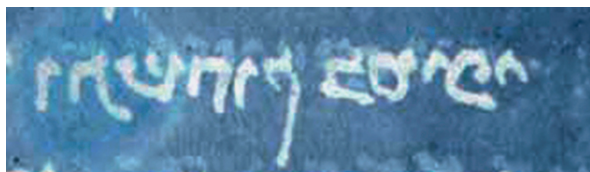


Fig. 4: Detail of Ms A II (T-S 12.864) verso 4, with colours inverted and reversed

(8) Indication of damaged letters follows the conventions used in the DJD series.

### 3 Reconstructing missing text

In his article Reymond used the traces of offset letters on Ms A I recto and VI verso to retrieve at least some portions of the Hebrew text that originally must have been written on pages which are lost to us (or perhaps still await discovery), viz. parts of lines 1–4 of the verso page of the very first folio of Ms A and of lines 1–4 of the recto page of the folio following Ms A folio VI.

#### 3.1 *The Hebrew version of Sir 1: \*9–\*12*

As already mentioned in the introduction to this paper the words reconstructed from the offset letters found in Ms A I recto 1–4 are so significant that they allow themselves to be identified as belonging to a portion of text which until now was only known from the Syriac version of Ben Sira, specifically to the additional verses designated as SirSyr 1: \*9–\*12. In figure 2 Reymond provides the following drawing of the relevant portion of Ms A I recto 1–4 with offset letters in black and reversed:

Based on his reading of these offset letters Reymond presents a reconstruction of the Hebrew text of lines 1–4, found on the verso page of the missing first folio of Ms A, and his translation as follows (9):

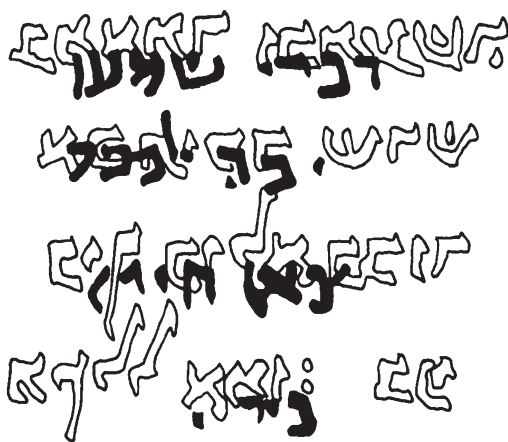


Fig. 5: Portion of Ms A I recto 1-4 with offset letters in black, reversed.  
Taken from Reymond (forthcoming), p. 15

(9) Reymond, "New Hebrew Text," 12.

. . . דברִי שְׁמְעוּ [ועשו ותכתבו]  
 [בספרי חיים : אהבו יראת יי ותנ] וְ בַה לְבַבְכֶּם [ואל תיראו :]  
 [קרבו ואל תאחרו ותמ] צִאֲוֹ חַיִּים [לרוחכם : ובקרבתכם]  
 [אתם תהיו כאנשי חיל תהיו כנ] בּוֹרֵאֵי [ם:] בְּנֵי אֵל תַּכְחֹשׁ

. . . My words, hear [and do (them), so you will be written]  
 [in the books of life. Love the fear of the lord and set] your mind in it  
 [but do not fear.]  
 [Approach and do not tarry and you will f]ind life [for your spirit. When  
 you approach,]  
 [you will be like valiant people, you will be like h]eroe[s. My child, do  
 not deceive . . .]

This portion of text quite obviously has some correspondence to the Syriac verses Sir 1:\*9–\*12 attested in *Codex Ambrosianus* (7aI) (10):

חַל יְחַל עֲבָדֶי הַחַיִּים. הֵאֱלָהֵם בְּסִפְרֵי חַיִּים.  
 וְיִבְעַר וְיִשְׁלַח וְיִכְוֶה. אֵלֶּיךָ כָּל לִבִּי הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל.  
 מִיִּמֶיךָ הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל. הֵאֱלָהֵם שֵׁנִי לְרוּחִי.  
 חַבֵּן (11) הָאֵלֶּים הַגָּדֹל. אֵלֶּיךָ יִבְעַר אֵלֶּיךָ שְׁלֵמֶה.

- \*9 Heed all my words and carry (them) out  
 and you will be inscribed in the books of life.
- \*10 Love the fear of the Lord  
 and fix your heart on it and do not be afraid.
- \*11 Draw near and do not tarry  
 and you will find life for your spirit.
- \*12 And when you will be near  
 (be) as a hero and as a mighty man.

Of course Reymond is well aware that based on the few words that one is able to reconstruct from the offset letters, and due to the range of different scribal features the scribe of Ms A could obviously employ rather freely (indentation, blank spaces, *litterae dilatabiles* etc.), any reconstruction of the missing Hebrew text remains highly tentative (12). Given the often only faint traces the offset letters have left even reading and identifying them can be quite a tricky task.

(10) For text and translation see Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen, *La sabiduría*, 68–71.

(11) Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen erroneously have **חבן** (*La sabiduría*, 68). See Antonio M. Ceriani, *Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti ex codice Ambrosiano sec. fere VI, Tomus I. Genesis - Threni* (Mediolani: Della Croce, 1876), 458.

(12) Cf. Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 16.





מכבד of Ms A I recto 1 (to the right when looking at I recto 1 in its regular alignment, to the left when the image is reversed) which can be interpreted as the faint traces of an offset *yodh* (cf. fig. 6), corroborating the reading בספרי. As far as I can tell from just looking at the photography the traces are not the result of ink bleeding through from Ms A II verso 1.



Fig. 6: Detail of Ms A I (T-S 12.863) recto, with colours inverted and reversed

Line 2 then would begin with חיים “life”, allowing for a slightly larger blank after a supposed *soph pasuq*. As the reading לבכם “your heart” having a suffix 2.pl.m. can be established quite certainly (14), the small trace beneath the second ש of שרש (Ms A I recto 2) most probably has to be interpreted as a *waw* denoting the masculine plural verbal morpheme. Whether the verb preceding the clearly readable suffixed preposition בה should be reconstructed [ותנ] as Reymond proposes or [ואשר] as one would do based on the Hebrew translation of the Syriac version Segal offers in his commentary (15) is difficult to tell. Reymond notes that in Sir 51:20 (Ms B) the verb נתן is used with נפש and the preposition ב. Segal’s reference to Prov 23:19 (אשר) בדרךך לבך “keep your heart on the [right] way”) (16) also has much to commend the reconstruction [ואשר] בה לבכם “and keep your heart with it (*sc.* wisdom)”, which also would fit in the space available. For the rest of line 2 ואל תיראו seems to be the most plausible reconstruction. It is possible that in the blank between the last word of Sir 3:8 and the first word of Sir 3:9 (... ברכות: ברכת ...) one still may detect very faint traces of the verb’s first three letters [תִּירָאוּ] (cf. fig. 7 & fig. 8).

Adjacent to the ב of ברכת (Sir 3:9), what looks like a *daleth* could also be the upper horizontal stroke and the right vertical line of the *taw* (when in normal orientation, i.e. looking at Ms A I recto

(14) Cf. the detailed analysis offered by Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 9f. Reymond prefers to read לבבכם instead of [לבבכם], which may be corroborated by the fact that Ms A always uses the lexeme לב.

(15) Moše S. Segal, *Sēfer Ben-Sira haš-šālēm* (2d ed.; Jerusalem: Bialik, 1958), 9.

(16) Segal, *Sēfer Ben-Sira*, 9

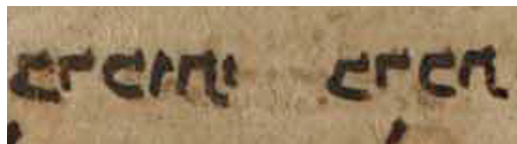


Fig. 7: Detail of Ms A I (T-S 12.863) recto 2, reversed

Fig. 8: Detail of Ms A I (T-S 12.863) recto 2, reversed,  
with reconstructed letters outlined

reversed). To the left (when looking at Ms A I recto reversed or to the right in normal orientation) there might be a slight trace of the *yodh* followed by what might be interpreted as the upper horizontal part of a *resh* blending with the *soph pasuq* after ברכות. Protruding from the top of the *beth* of ברכת (the first word of Sir 3:9 again) there is something like a thin vertical line showing a sharp curve to the left at the end, very much like one could expect from the *lamedh* of the negation אל leaving an offset trace of its upper part (17). Thus the last portion of line 2 of the verso of the missing page could even be reconstructed as [וּאֵל תִּירָאוּ]. But admittedly those traces are very hard to discern by looking only at the digital image, and thus one could easily fall prey to one's own imagination, interpreting stains as the text one is looking for. As Reymond notes “[f]urther study of this manuscript in person may reveal more text unreadable from the digital images online.” (18) At least the reconstruction offered here may be put to the test.

Again, counting in each line of Ms A recto the letters that fill the space between the offset marks of the צ of [תַּמְצֵאוּ] and the beginning of the line (i.e. the end of the line when looking at Ms A recto in its normal alignment), the average number of letters is between 17 and 18 letters. With regard to the reconstruction Reymond offers for the beginning of line 3 ... [קִרְבוּ וְאֵל תֵּאָחֲרוּ וְתַמְצֵאוּ] (= Sir 1:\*11) there is

(17) The letter *lamedh* in Ms A frequently shows this kind of “hook” at its upper end, cf. on Ms A I recto: וקללת (line 2 = Sir 3:9), מקלל (line 4 = Sir 3:11 and line 8 = Sir 3:16), לו, and תכלים (line 5 = Sir 3:13), לך (line 7 = Sir 3:15), ולפני and עולם (line 10: Sir 3:18), and אלהים (line 10: Sir 3:20) to cite only a few examples.

(18) Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 2.

room enough for about three letters. As Ms A II recto 19 קרב is used with the preposition ליה (the suffix 3.sg.f. referring to חכמה and written with a ligatured 'aleph-lamedh) the same may apply for Sir 1:\*11, with the suffix then referring to יראת יי in the preceding verse. Reconstructing the missing text following חיים in line 3 is notoriously difficult. The Syriac suggests some kind of a temporal or conditional clause for Sir 1:\*12 to begin with. My own reconstruction has a *perf. cons.* (וקרבתם) functioning as a temporal clause (19) but of course there is a variety of other possibilities (20).

Given our considerations reading the offset letters in Ms A I recto 4 probably is the most difficult task so far. Reymond reads them as *beth*, *waw*, and *resh* (21) and thus interprets them as belonging to the noun גבור “hero”. The small offset mark beneath the 'aleph of אמו (Sir 3:11) then is interpreted as a *mem finalis* indicating the plural masculine of the noun, גבורים “heroes”. Obviously Sir 1:\*12 has to continue in line 4. For the reader's convenience I give the reconstruction Reymond proposes for line 4 (including the end of line 3) once again (22):

[... ובקרבכם]

[אתם תהיו כאנשי חיל תהיו כנ]ב[ור]י[ם]: בני אל תכחש]

[... When you approach,]

[you will be like valiant people, you will be like h]eroe[s]. My child, do not deceive ...]

Although the offset traces in the middle of Ms A I recto 4 may fit [כנ]ב[ור]י[ם] some remarks are in order. The missing Hebrew of Sir 1:\*12 Reymond reconstructs for line 4 has 21 letters, which seems quite long for the space available. Omitting the second תהיו would result in a textual layout that matches better the overall layout of Ms A I recto. However, while the Syriac version of 1:\*12 speaks of being “as a hero and as a mighty man” (ܐܬܝܬܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ), the reconstruction of the Hebrew has the two members of the parallelism in reversed

(19) Cf. Wilhelm Gesenius' *Hebräische Grammatik*: völlig umgearbeitet von E. Kautzsch (28th ed.; Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms, 1977), § 164b. Cf. a quite similar construction in Ms A II recto 26 (= Sir 6:27): דרש וחקר בקש ומצא והחזיקתה וא' תרפה.

(20) Eric D. Reymond prefers an *inf. const.* with preposition and suffix 2nd pl. m.: בקרבכם (Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 12). One could also render the phrase using a temporal conjunction. Cf. Segal, *Sēfer Ben-Sira*, 9. Segal translates the Syriac phrase ܐܬܝܬܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ as סבב אלמסא פוז. Regarding the space available at the end of line 3 כי קרבתם is also possible. Cf. Wilhelm Gesenius' *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 164d.

(21) Cf. Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 11.

(22) Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 12 and above p. 6.

order: “you will be like valiant people (כְּאֲנָשֵׁי חַיִּל), [you will be] like heroes (כְּגִבּוֹרִים)”. In Ben Sira the Hebrew גִּבּוֹר is never rendered **ܠܒܐ ܡܢܗ** in the Syriac version. The phrasing **ܐܝܫ ܚܝܠ** or **ܐܝܫ ܚܝܠ** is not attested in Ben Sira, but **ܐܝܫ ܚܝܠ** is in Ms C V verso 12 (= Sir 26:2) where the Syriac has **ܠܒܐ ܡܢܗ** “strong woman” (23). Hence Syriac **ܠܒܐ ܡܢܗ** is exactly the translation we would expect for the Hebrew **ܐܝܫ ܚܝܠ**, while **ܠܒܐ ܡܢܗ** would be the most obvious choice to render the Hebrew גִּבּוֹר. Now, unless one wants to assume that the Hebrew and Syriac version had a different *Vorlage*, there is no obvious reason why a translator should reverse the order of the parallelism (24).

The plural forms **ܐܝܫ ܚܝܠ** and **ܠܒܐ ܡܢܗ** in the reconstruction above are probably due to the plural of the subject addressed by the verbal forms in line 1–3 (25). However, for a comparison like Sir 1:\*12 the plural is not mandatory (26).

With that in mind, and given the traces of offset letters still visible in Ms A I recto 4, I propose a reading slightly different from that offered by Reymond. I completely agree with the reading *beth* and *resh*. However instead of reading the second letter as *waw* the traces could also represent a *yodh*. In addition to the mark that Reymond sees beneath the *aleph* of **ܐܡܐ** (the last word of Sir 3:11, cf. Reymond’s drawing presented above) there is another faint mark visible, a little bit further down and to the left (when looking at Ms A I recto reversed), which seems to be blurred by the stain on the paper (fig. 9).

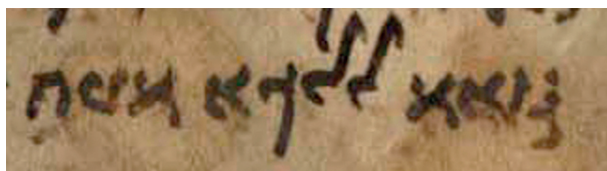


Fig. 9: Detail of Ms A I (T-S 12.863) recto 4, reversed

(23) In the *laus patrum* Joshua is described as **ܓܒܘܪ ܒܢ ܚܝܠ** (Sir 46:1 = Ms B XV verso 9) which is translated as **ܠܒܐ ܡܢܗ**.

(24) This holds true even if one sees the Hebrew as a retroversion from Syriac.

(25) Cf. Joel 2:7a<sup>a</sup> for a similar construction, where the verb is also plural: **ܚܝܠܝܢ ܝܠܥܝܢ** (“They run like mighty men”).

(26) Cf. Jer 50:9b<sup>a</sup> **ܚܝܠܝܢ ܡܫܝܠ ܕܡܫܝܠ** (lit.: “its [*sc.* alliance of nations] arrows are like an expert warrior”; reading **ܡܫܝܠ** instead of **ܡܫܝܠ**; cf. BHS; note that although the comparison has no verb the subject of the clause is plural.) and Zec 10:7a<sup>a</sup> **ܕܗܝ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ** (“And those of Ephraim shall be like a warrior”).

Given the form and size of these marks and their position in relation to the supposed *resh* to the right, they would nicely fit an *'aleph* (27), the blurred mark belonging the left foot of the *'aleph* (fig. 10).

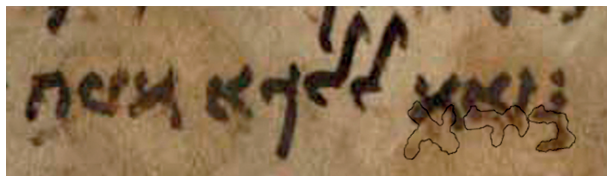


Fig. 10: Detail of Ms A I (T-S 12.863) recto 4, reversed, with reconstructed letters outlined

Thus I read the traces of offset letters as [...]**בִּירָא**[...]. One is immediately reminded of SirSyr 1:27, which now again runs parallel to the Greek version (SirSyr 1:27 || SirLXX 1:28), after the Syriac extra verses \*1–\*12 have come to their end.

SirSyr 1:27 כֹּל־אֲבוֹתֵינוּ בְּיָדָם הָיָה לִפְנֵי ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ לִפְנֵי ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 My son, do not deceive the fear of the Lord,  
 and do not draw near to it with double heart

SirLXX 1:28 μὴ ἀπειθήσῃς φόβῳ κυρίου καὶ μὴ προσέλθῃς αὐτῷ  
 ἐν καρδίᾳ δισση.  
 Do not disobey the fear of the Lord,  
 and do not draw near him/it (28) with a double heart.

Segal's Hebrew translation of the Greek renders the verse as follows (29):

אל תמר ביראת יי ואל תקרב אליה בלב ולב:

Considering the reading of the offset letters in line 4 given above, they perfectly match the first four letters of **בִּירָא**[ת]. Because in Sir 7:13 Syriac **ܒܪܬܐ** translates Hebrew **כחש** (Ms A II verso 17), which also can be used with the preposition **ב**, alternatively the first stichos can be reconstructed as **אל תכחש ביראת יי** “do not betray the fear of the Lord”. As the Syriac and the Greek (as well as the Latin version) testify to the

(27) Quite similar to the *'aleph* of **אמו** (line 4) or **בוראו** (line 8).

(28) As Greek φόβος is masculine the personal pronoun can refer both to the “fear of the Lord” or to the “Lord” alone.

(29) Segal, *Sēfer Ben-Sira*, 7.

singular of the verb, there is no reason to reconstruct a plural. Whether the Hebrew text of Sir 1:28 used the address בְּנִי “My son” is difficult to decide, because the Hebrew and Syriac version may not always concur in this matter (30). However, בְּנִי would clearly indicate a change from plural to singular in the Hebrew, for in Sirach בְּנִי never occurs as a plural address “My sons”.

Looking at Ms A I recto 4 another detail catches the eye. Beneath the *heth* of חָטָא another angular mark is visible, slanting down to the left (when Ms A is reversed, cf. above fig. 10), that would best match an *‘ayin* (31). As is evident from Segal’s translation given above it has no word containing an *‘ayin*. However, the Syriac ܡܘܬ and Greek προσέρχουμαι may both render the Hebrew נָגַע which in *Hiphil* can have the meaning “to arrive”, “to come” (32).

Summarizing the observations and qualifications made so far I offer a reconstruction of the first four lines of the verso of the missing first page of Ms A as follows (33):

1 [עולם ושמחה רבה: כל] דברִי שִׁמְעוּ [ועשו ותכתבו בספר]  
 2 [חיים: אהבו יראת יי ואשרו] בה לבכם [וא] לִתְרֹאוּ: או: [ ]  
 3 [קרבו איה וא תאחרו ותמ] צאו חיים לרוחכם: וקרבתם [ ]  
 4 [כנבור וכאנש חל: א תכחש] ביראָת [ת יי וא תג] איה בלב ולב: [ ]

- 1 [forever and great joy (34). All] my words heed [and do (them), so you will be written in the book]s
- 2 [of life. Love the fear of YHWH and keep] your heart with it [and don’t] be afr[aid.]
- 3 [Draw near to it and don’t hesitate, and you will f]ind life [for your spirit. And when you have come near,]
- 4 [(be) like a hero and like a mighty man. Don’t betray] the fea[r of YHWH and don’t com]e [to it with a double heart (35).]

(30) Cf. Sir 10:29.

(31) As far as I can tell from the digital images available this is not a result of the *‘ayin* of שומע bleeding through from Ms A I verso 4 (= Sir 4:15). To test this I digitally flipped Ms A I recto then put Ms A I verso on top and gradually raised its transparency until Ms A I recto came through. The *‘ayin* on Ms A I verso then turned out to be slightly off the angular mark on the reversed image on Ms A I recto. Of course, studying Ms A fol. I in person could bring certainty.

(32) Cf. s v “נָגַע,” Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (18th ed.; Berlin: Springer, 2013), 780f. Note also that in Sir 13:1 the Syriac version uses ܡܘܬ to render the Hebrew root נָגַע.

(33) Because Ms A quite often uses the ligature ִי I use them in my reconstruction of text. The same applies for יי used as abbreviation for the *tetragrammaton*.

(34) The first three words are the last part from SirSyr 1:\*8 as translated by Segal (*Sefer Ben-Sira*, 9).

(35) For the phrase לֵב לֵב cf. Ps 12:13.



To make it clear: Except for the different interpretation of the offset letters in line 4 and some differences in reconstructing and aligning the missing text the observations offered here basically confirm “that the Hebrew of the lost initial page of Ms A contained text that parallels at least some of the extra Syriac verses (i.e., what are labelled Sir 1:\*9–\*12 or Sir 1:20i–l).” (36)

### 3.1.1 Putting the reconstruction to the test

As already mentioned, using an image manipulation program provides a convenient tool to put one’s own reconstructions to a test as concerns their textual arrangement and spacing. Actually we can use letters which were written by the scribe of Ms A himself, thus making sure their size and shape come as close as possible to the original. But even then one has to keep in mind that the variety of textual features employed by the scribe allows for other reconstructions as well. The following figures show the relevant portion of Ms A I recto 1–4 in normal orientation and reversed, with the boundaries of the manuscript page outlined and the reconstructed text in black. Note that the templates for the letters used were taken from Ms A. Letters reconstructed from offset traces are printed in red.

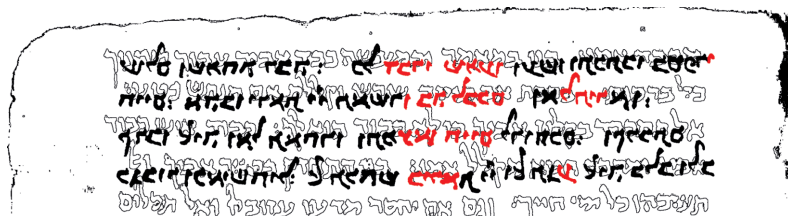


Fig. 11: Portion of Ms A I (T-S 12.863) recto, showing a reconstruction of line 1–4 of the verso of the missing first page.

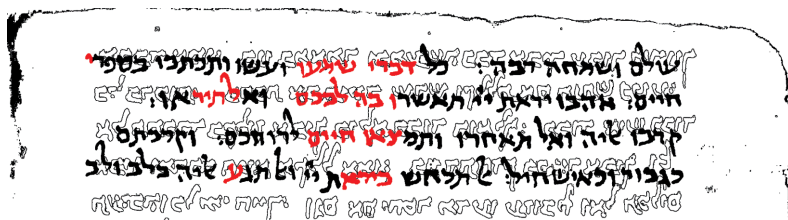


Fig. 12: Portion of Ms A I (T-S 12.863) recto, reversed, showing a reconstruction of line 1–4 of the verso of the missing first page.

(36) Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 13.

Especially when reconstructing כנבור וכאיש חיל: א תכחש in line 4 the spacing of letters has to be rather narrow. Thus perhaps the translation *M. Š. Segal* provides for Sir 1:28 based on the Greek text, א תמר “Don’t disobey ...” may be preferred to א תכחש (37). However, spacing of letters in Ms A sometimes can be rather cramped.

As Reymond notes, the fact that Ms A obviously contained at least parts of the Syriac extra verses (viz. SirSyr 1:\*9–\*12) “implies in turn, that the other Syriac verses might also have been present on the missing Ms A page.” (38) That Ms A is a close relative to the Syriac text (especially as represented by *Codex Ambrosianus*, 7aI = MS Milan, Ambrosian Library, B.21. Inf.) and a supposed *Vorlage* of the so-called expanded version of the Greek text (GrII) is an observation frequently found in the literature (39).

Already R. Smend assumed that the 12 extra Syriac distichs (SirSyr 1:\*1–\*12) were most likely translated from a Hebrew original (40). Concerning the text of the missing first folio of Ms A Smend notes:

Das vorn fehlende Blatt enthielt, wenn es vollständig beschrieben war, 1,1–3,6a in erweiterter Gestalt. Denn in A entspricht je ein Blatt durchschnittlich 66 Disticha des griechischen Vulgärtextes. Dagegen hat der griechische Vulgärtext in 1,1–3,6 nur 53, der erweiterte griechische Text 59, der Syrer ebenfalls 59, die freilich von den griechischen z. Th. ganz verschieden sind. (41)

Given the close relationship Ms A has to the Syriac text of *Codex Ambrosianus* (42) it is tempting to assume that the missing first page

(37) Segal, *Sēfer Ben-Sira*, 7; Segal does not use the ligature א but as it is used frequently in Ms A it should be used for the reconstruction of this part of the text as well.

(38) Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 13.

(39) Cf. for example Hans P. Rüger, *Text und Textform im hebräischen Sirach: Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik der hebräischen Sirachfragmente aus der Kairoer Geniza* (BZAW 112; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970), 97; and Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*, 83: “Man sieht deutlich, daß Hs. B die Vorlage für GrI und die hebr. Hs. A die Vorlage für GrII bildete.”

(40) Rudolf Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt* (Berlin, 1906), 14 Smend’s argument is that א (SirSyr 1:\*5b) seems to be a poor translation for Hebrew יספור.

(41) Rudolf Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach: Hebräisch und deutsch; mit einem hebräischen Glossar* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906), V.

(42) The Syriac text of *Codex Ambrosianus* shows a number of agreements with Ms A against GrII as reconstructed by Ziegler. Cf. SirLXX 3:19b (ἀλλὰ πράεσιν ἀποκαλύπτει τὰ μυστήρια αὐτοῦ.) which Ms A and Cod. Ambr. both have as 3:20b, omitting 3:19a and 3:20b (LXX); Sir 3:25 is placed in Ms A and Syr (Cod. Ambr.) between v. 27 and v. 28 (but one has to note that while Sir 3:25a Ms A and Syr nicely

of Ms A indeed contained more or less a Hebrew version of the 59 *distichoi* (= 118 cola) preserved in *Codex Ambrosianus*. However, with regard to Smend's observation cited above that one page in Ms A corresponds approximately to 66 *distichoi* of text in Ms A, there still remains a difference of 7 *distichoi*, of course only if the first folio was completely covered with text. For this supposed plus of Ms A Smend considers the following explanation:

Dies eventuelle Plus des A kann darauf beruhen, dass er am Anfang des Buches wie späterhin mehrere Distichen in doppelter Gestalt hatte. (43)

But if Smend's assumption was correct, the first missing page of Ms A alone would have contained 14 doublets, which is almost  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the doublets all of the six folios of Ms A have (44).

Interestingly, the difference of about 7 *distichoi* corresponds almost exactly to the portion of Greek text, viz. SirLXX 1:22–27 (6 *distichoi*), which is replaced in the Syriac text by the verses Sir 1:\*1–\*9 plus a superscript as it is preserved in *Codex Ambrosianus* (the first line of *Cod. Ambr.* 223v: ii reads: ܣܝܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܬܪܝܬܐܝܬ). Thus one wonders whether Ms A might have contained a Hebrew version SirLXX 1:22–27 as well, but of course this is pure speculation.

### 3.2 Reading the offset letters on Ms A VI verso 1–4

Unfortunately, the traces of offset letters preserved in Ms A VI verso 1–4 are much harder to read than on the first page of Ms A. As Reymond observes the offset traces found in the middle of Ms A VI verso 2 “obviously correspond to the word ܠܐ” (45). Taking

correspond to each other for the rest of the verse Syr then seems to be closer to GrII and Syr has more text). Sir 4:23b again Ms A (ܐܬ ܬܨܦܝܢ ܐܬ ܫܚܡܬܝܗ) and Syr (Cod. Ambr.: ܣܝܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܬܪܝܬܐܝܬ) agree against GrII (καὶ μὴ κρύψῃς τὴν σοφίαν σου εἰς καλλογήν). Cf. also the position of SirLXX 5:6ab, both Ms A and Syr place the distich after Sir 5:4b. In addition to this it is striking that Syr (Cod. Ambr.) always agrees with Ms A in omitting some of the supposed GrII additions (cf. SirLXX 3:7a; 3:19a20b; 10:8cd.21; 12:6c; 13:14; 16:3cd.9cd.10cd.18c.22). On the other hand, when MsA attests to a supposed GrII reading, Syr (Cod. Ambr.) also does (cf. Sir 3:25, Sir 11:15–16 and Sir 16,15–16).

(43) Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, p.V.

(44) Hans Peter Rüger (*Text und Textform im hebräischen Sirach*, 12–23) discusses Sir 4:3a.19a; 5:1a.2b.14; 8:1.14; 9:4; 11:27b.28.29b.34; 12:15; 14:11a.14b.16b; 16:18b as doublets totalling 24 cola (= 12 *distichs*). But this list does not contain doublets in which Ms A runs parallel with Ms B or C. To this may be added another 10 stichoi (= 5 *distichs*): Sir 5:6ab (LXX); 10:31; 11:6b; 15:14b.15b.20b; 16,3b.d.

(45) Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 7.

into account the average number of about 38-40 letters per line, he suggests interpreting it as the negation **לא** preceding the verb **יחדלו** in Segal's Hebrew retroversion of the Greek version of Sir 16:27 (46). The traces found between the *'aleph* of **שוא** and the *waw* of **ועל** (when looking at Ms A VI verso 2 in normal orientation) he cautiously suggests to be the rest of an offset *waw* and *'ayin* respectively, which would nicely fit Segal's reconstruction of **ייגעו**. The traces in line 3 he reconstructs as [... **אִישׁ** ... **יִצְרָן** **לְעָרָן** **לָם**], while in line 4 the offset marks "would correspond to the word **חי** 'alive' in Segal's reconstruction of Sir 16:30a. The offset mark just to the right of the ligatured **אל** would then correspond to the upper diagonal line of the *mem* of Segal's **מלא** 'he filled' in Sir 16:30a" (47). Additionally, Reymond also identifies traces of what might be an offset *teth* at the end of line 4 corresponding to **בטובו** in Segal's translation of Sir 16:29b. For line 1 Reymond refrains from providing a reconstruction (48).

Thus summarizing Reymond's analysis his reconstruction of the first four lines of the recto of the missing page following Ms A VI would read:

[ unreadable traces of letters ]	1
[ יִגְעוּ לֹא ]	2
[ אִישׁ יִצְרָן לְעָרָן לָם ]	3
[ בִּטְוֹבוֹ חִי מֵלֹא ]	4

Although the reading of the **לא** in line 2 seems certain to me and I also agree with Reymond in seeing traces of a **עולם** (but assigning traces in a different way) and the word **איש** in line 3, my own reading and reconstruction of lines 1–4 differ considerably. In addition, I will try to provide readings for some traces found at the beginning of line 2 and 3 which until now have not been treated or recognized as such.

I begin with the tentative reading of the traces Reymond interprets as the *'ayin-waw* belonging to **ייגעו** "they will [*sc.* not] weary" of Segal's translation. Fig. 13 shows the relevant portion of Ms A VI verso 2 reversed and fig. 14 the reconstructed letters in outline again using the letters found in Ms A as templates.

(46) Cf. Reymond, "New Hebrew Text," 7.

(47) Reymond, "New Hebrew Text," 8.

(48) Although he would expect to see the traces of the first two words of Segal's translation of Sir 26:26b (**חלק חלקים**) in the upper left part of line 1 (again looking at Ms A in normal orientation) he openly admits that the traces are too hard to read.

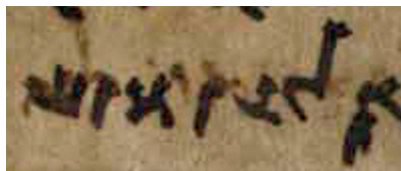
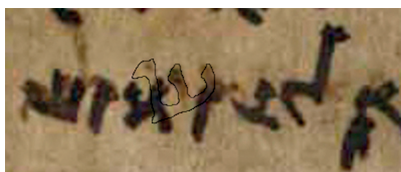


Fig. 13: Detail of Ms A VI (T-S 12.863) verso 2, reversed

Fig. 14: Detail of Ms A VI (T-S 12.863) verso 2, reversed,  
with reconstructed letters (49) outlined

What Reymond interprets as the right vertical stroke of the *'ayin* could also be the trace of the upper part of a *mem* or even an *'aleph* (50). The latter interpretation might be further corroborated. A closer look at the image reveals a very tiny stroke protruding with an angle of about 45° beneath the head of the *waw* of **ועל** (Sir 15:20), which would nicely fit the left foot of a supposed *'aleph* having some resemblance to the left foot of the *'aleph* of the negation **לא**, which has left its offset mark within the word **שוא**. The barely visible curved line just above the *'ayin* of **ועל** (Ms A VI verso 2) may in fact represent the faded tip of the right vertical stroke of the (normally oriented) *'ayin* of **ועל** in Sir 15:20 blending with the upper left part of the alleged *'aleph* (also normally oriented, i.e. now looking at the image reversed). The second vertical stroke to the left (still looking at the image reversed) then most likely has to be interpreted as *waw*. Whether the tiny and barely visible dot above the *'aleph* of **שוא** is a mark left by an offset letter at all is hard to tell from the photography alone. It could virtually be assigned to any letter or even be interpreted as a dot sometimes separating one verse from the other.

(49) The letters **עי** with the *waw* blending into the *'ayin* is taken from **שמעו** at the end of Ms A VI line 27 (= Sir 16:24).

(50) Cf. for example an *'aleph* like that in **ירא** (Ms A VI verso 7), **אדם** (line 17) or **אשר** (line 18).

To the left of the *soph pasuq* and to the right of the ligature 𐤀 at the end of line 2 (when looking at the image in normal orientation) one still can discern a faint offset mark. The orientation of the photography reversed, the mark next to the 𐤀 quite obviously may be part of a *yodh* while the mark to its left (still looking at the image reversed) very much looks like a *daleth* or *resh* (51). There are also some marks above the word סוד, but they are too difficult to read. Another very faint mark seems to protrude from the upper left leg of the reversed 𐤀.

Within the word תשמח in Ms A VI verso 3 I am only able to discern what may be the traces of an *'ayin* and a *waw*. Looking at Ms A VI normally oriented, the angular mark found to the left of the left vertical stroke of the *heth* is better interpreted as the right curved stroke of the *'ayin* (when the *'ayin* would be in regular orientation), its lower end blending with the left foot of the *mem* of תשמח. The left vertical stroke of the same *'ayin* is attested to the right of the left vertical leg of the *heth*. What seems to be a horizontal line just beneath the top horizontal stroke of the same *heth* actually is the top of the *'ayin*'s left vertical stroke. The horizontal line that is visible between the *heth* and the *mem* may be part of a *waw*, with the vertical line of the *waw* blending with the right vertical line of the *heth*. This could indeed fit a reconstruction of [לעו]לם as in Segal's translation of Sir 16:28b, but then the mark clearly discernible in VI verso 3 between the two *beths* of בבני has to be interpreted as being the rest of a *lamedh* which one would expect to be written closer, attached to the *'ayin*. However, that spacing of prepositions may be quite a bit off can be seen Ms A I verso 11, where the very same word עולם is preceded by a preposition ב that is written with a rather large space between the *beth* and the *'ayin* (fig. 15). The form and size of the *lamedh* there would be a good candidate to fit the traces attested between the two *beths* of בבני in Ms A VI verso 3.

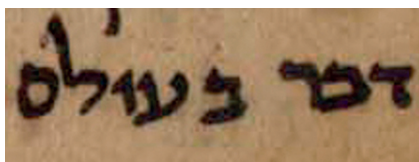


Fig. 15: Detail of Ms A I (T-S 12.863) verso 11

(51) Note that Reymond's figures 1 and 2 clearly show these traces, but Reymond does not offer an interpretation ("New Hebrew Text," 14).

Alternatively, the traces may reflect a *daleth*, which frequently looks very similar to a *resh* (52), which then would commend a reconstruction [... ר'עו]לם instead of [... ר'לעו]לם. In that case the space between the preposition and עולם would be fine. At the end of Ms A VI verso 3 even more traces of offset letters are visible above the first four words of Sir 16:2 (... וְגַם אֵם פָּרוּ אֵ), which are extremely difficult to read. Nevertheless with the image reversed and colours inverted (to enhance contrast) one may give an educated guess. The marks above the *resh* of פָּרוּ most likely belong to a *śin/shin*, its bottom curve resting in the middle of the horizontal line of the *resh*. The middle stroke of the *śin/shin* meets the left stroke in its upper third and the top of the right stroke is barely visible between the *resh* and the *waw* of פָּרוּ. Thus the *śin/shin* looks very similar to the *shin* attested in אִישׁ (Ms A VI verso 1 = Sir 15:19) (53). The mark above the *waw* of פָּרוּ may be part of a *yodh* or *waw* and the barely visible mark next to the negation אֵ could be the left part of an *ʾaleph*. Thus, as already mentioned above, I agree with Reymond in reading the traces as אִישׁ. The marks above וְגַם אֵם are even harder to discern but can be reconstructed as רַעְהוּ thus forming the phrase אִישׁ רַעְהוּ “one another”. Between the *mem finalis* of אֵם and the *pe* of פָּרוּ the *resh* left a very faint trace of its horizontal line. The upper parts of the two vertical strokes of the *ʾayin* are visible above the *ʾaleph* and the *mem finalis* of אֵם. The horizontal line of the *he* is rather blurred between the *mem finalis* of the גַּם and the *ʾaleph* of אֵם and what looks like a triangular mark on top of the *mem finalis* of וְגַם is the rest of the *waw*.

In the next line (Ms A VI verso 4) besides some offset marks found with תַּאמִּין אֵ there are some offset marks above the last word of the line תַּבְטָח (Sir 16:3). As already stated, Reymond wants to read the traces found above the *taw* of תַּאמִּין and between the *taw* and אֵ as חַי “life” and hence corresponding to Segal’s reconstruction of Sir 16:30a. Thus Reymond interprets the offset mark that protrudes from the right upper stroke of the ligature *ʾaleph-lamedh* as corresponding to the “upper diagonal line of the *mem* of Segal’s מֵלֵא” (54), i.e. the verb immediately following חַי. As there is only a horizontal stroke preserved above the *taw* of תַּאמִּין which is blending with the ink of the *taw*, it may be part of virtually any character having some sort of horizontal line, i.e. the alleged *heth* could also be reconstructed as *he*, *daleth*, *beth*, *kaph*, *taw* or even *samekh* or *mem finalis*. The

(52) Cf. e.g. the *daleth* next to the *resh* in וּבְדִרְכֵי (Ms A VI verso 25 = Sir 16:20).

(53) Cf. also the *śin* in עוֹשֶׂה (Ms A VI verso 2 = Sir 15:20), שׁוֹא (Ms A VI verso 3 = Sir 16:1) and the *shin* in תַּשְׁמַח (Ms A VI verso 3 = Sir 16:1).

(54) Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 8.



thin vertical mark in the space between the ו and *taw* also could be he reconstructed as any letter having some sort vertical stroke, i.e. *daleth*, *he* or *resh* to name only a few candidates. The tiny mark protruding from the right part of the ligatured 'aleph-lamedh (oriented normally) likewise is difficult to assign to a specific character, but given its shape may well correspond to the upper left part of a *beth* or *kaph* (of course there are other possibilities as well). Before making my own proposal for their alleged reading we will take a closer look at the traces found above תבטה which preserved the beginning of line 4 of the recto of the missing page following Ms A VI verso. Reymond notes that (looking at the image normally oriented) “[a]t the end of this line one sees traces that might be an offset *teth*, corresponding to Segal’s בטובו at the end of 16:29b.” (55) Unfortunately, he does not describe where exactly the supposed *teth* has left its marks, but obviously the traces of the *teth* have to be above the תבטה. Above the *taw* two marks are visible each having some resemblance to a *yodh*, which could also fit a *teth* (56) showing the upper part of the two vertical lines. Another very faint *yodh*-like mark can be seen to the right of the long vertical stroke of the ו preceding תבטה and some offset traces can also be detected above and within the *beth* and the *teth* of תבטה.

In other words: Interpreting ambiguous offset traces found in Ms VI verso 1–4 very much depends on the reconstruction of the text one has in mind. Now Reymond is very well aware of that fact as he explicitly notes that “it is surprising how well Segal’s reconstruction can be made to fit the offset letter traces.” (57)

However, again an image manipulation program can be used to put our reconstructions to the test. Nevertheless, we have to keep in mind that, when counterchecking our reconstructions using this kind of “*experimental scribal technique*” (58) we are only able to show that, based on our knowledge of scribal features deduced from the rest of the manuscript, some reconstructions are to a certain degree less probable than others. From an epistemological point of view the best we can do is falsify our reconstructions.

Although the identification of the negation לא in line 2 seems certain, using Segal’s translation based on the Greek text of Sir 16:26b–30a as a template provides no satisfying results when put to the test in terms of textual layout and spacing. At least I could find no way to

(55) Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 8.

(56) Cf. e.g. the *teth* in לוט (Ms A VI verso 11 = Sir 16:8) and חטאתי (Ms A VI verso 25 = Sir 16:21).

(57) Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,” 7.

(58) I borrow the term from the discipline of “experimental archaeology.”

make Segal's reconstruction match the offset traces. Interestingly, the Syriac version for this portion of text as preserved in *Cod. Ambr.* (7aI) again significantly differs from the Greek version in adding some words in SirSyr 16:27. Given the close relationship of Ms A and the *Cod. Ambr.*, which has been further corroborated by the fact that Ms A contained at least parts of the Syriac extra verses of SirSyr 1: \*9–\*12 (59), one wonders if Ms A also may have contained a Hebrew version of the Syriac text of SirSyr 16:26b–30a. The relevant portion of the Syriac text reads as follows (60):

(61)	ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	26a
	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	b
	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	27a
	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	b
	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	c
	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	d
	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	e
	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	28a
	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	b
	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	29a
	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	b
	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	30a

- 26a When God created his works in the beginning  
 b He distributed his laws among his creatures  
 27a and He assigned (them) their works till the end  
 b and to all generations of the universe (He assigned) their authority.  
 c They do not go hungry nor do they thirst  
 d and they do not grow weary nor do they toil  
 e and their strength does not diminish.  
 28a They do not hate each other  
 b and they are never transgressing his word.  
 29a And after (having done) these things He looked towards the earth  
 b and He blessed her with all her fruits (62).  
 30a With all kinds of living beings He filled her face

(59) Cf. in detail, Reymond, “New Hebrew Text,”; and my own analysis, above p. 6ff.

(60) Text and Translation are taken from Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen, *La sabiduría*, 128f.

(61) A *seyame* is missing. Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen, *La sabiduría*, 129, n. 27.

(62) A translation “in all her affairs” is possible as well. See Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen, *La sabiduría*, 128, n. 39.

A Hebrew translation may render this passage in the following way:

<sup>26</sup> כבֹּרָא אֵל מַעֲשֵׂיו מֵרֵאשׁ עַל חַיֵּיהֶם (63) חֶלֶק חֻקֵּיהֶם (64):<sup>27</sup> וְנָתַן לָעוֹלָם מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמִמְשַׁלָּתָם דּוֹר לְדוֹר: לֹא יִרְעֻבוּ וְלֹא יִצְמָאוּ וְלֹא יִיָּעֲצוּ וְלֹא יִעֲמְלוּ וְלֹא יִחְסְרוּ גְבוּרָתָם: <sup>28</sup> אִישׁ רַעְהוּ לֹא יֵאָנְסוּ (65) וְלָעוֹלָם לֹא יַעֲבְרוּ דְבָרוֹ: <sup>29</sup> וְאַחֵר כֵּן הִבִּיט אֶל הָאָרֶץ וַיְבָרֶכֶּהּ בְּכָל תְּנוּבוֹתֶיהָ: <sup>30</sup> נֶפֶשׁ כָּל חַי מְלֵא פָנֶיהָ ...

<sup>26</sup> When God created his works from the beginning he distributed onto their living beings their laws.<sup>27</sup> And for eternity he assigned (them) their works and their authority from generation to generation. They do not hunger nor do they thirst, and they do not grow weary nor do they toil, and they do not diminish in their strength.<sup>28</sup> They do not harass each other and for eternity they do not transgress his word.<sup>29</sup> And after that he looked at the earth and he blessed it with all its fruits.<sup>30</sup> With every kind of living being he filled its face ...

Taking into consideration our observations concerning the reading of offset traces in Ms A VI verso 1–4 the offset marks can be made to fit quite well our Hebrew translation of the Syriac.

The rather blurred offset traces in line 1 above לחטא ולא החלים may indeed fit חלק חקותיהם, interpreting the barely visible marks above the *lamedh-ḥeth* as הם of the suffix 3.pl.m.

In line 2, then, the offset marks in the blank space between the *soph pasuq* of Sir 15:20 and the negation ܐ at the beginning of Sir 15:21 would match the words [... ܐܢ ܝܪܥܒܘ] of Sir 16:27c. Concerning the traces found within מגלה שוא ועל (Sir 15:20) the reading לא within the word שוא seems certain. There would also be enough room to reconstruct a *waw* blending with the לא as in Ms A VI verso 1 (= Sir 15:20). The traces visible above the *ayin*, *waw*, and *aleph* of שוא ועל as argued above may be interpreted to belong to an *aleph*, *waw*, and maybe a dot. Thus the traces would match the verb יצמאו “they will (*sc.* not) be thirsty”. Reversing the image, a close look reveals a mark resembling the character used for transcribing *ayin* (ܐ) blending with the ink of the horizontal stroke of the *lamedh*. Beneath it a very faint mark

(63) Up to here the Hebrew text is preserved in the last line of Ms A VI verso.

(64) Syriac ܢܚܡܥܬܡܢܐ could also be rendered תורתיהם.

(65) *Cod. Ambr.* reads ܦܢܝܒܐ (= Hebrew שנא “to hate”). The Syrohexaplaric version translates Greek ἐξέθλιψεν “he does (not) harass” (cf. s.v. “ἐκθλίβω,” T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain, Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2009), 208) using the root ܦܢܝܒܐ. Maybe the Hebrew Vorlage of the Greek used the rare אנס which in mHeb. has the meaning “to oppress; to harass” (s.v. “אנס,” Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 82). If so the Syriac ܦܢܝܒܐ may be due to erroneously reading Hebrew אנס as Syr. ܦܢܝܒܐ changing the first and the last consonant.

shows a curve in the other direction. Taken together they would perfectly fit the upper right and the lower part of a *ṣadhe* as it is written in Ms A. The tiny mark just above the *mem* of מגלה then most likely belongs to a *yodh* thus corroborating the reconstruction יצ[מ]אֹו (fig. 16 & fig. 17).

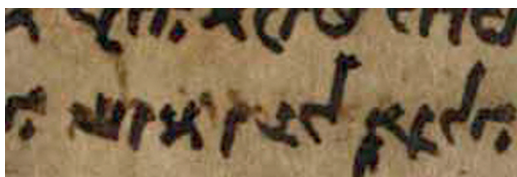


Fig. 16: Detail of Ms A VI (T-S 12.863) verso 2, reversed

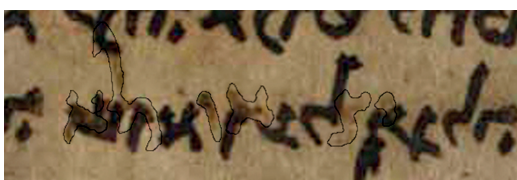


Fig. 17: Detail of Ms A VI (T-S 12.863) verso 2, reversed, with letters reconstructed from offset traces outlined

At the end of the line (still looking at the image reversed) one may even discern two barely visible spots perfectly matching a *soph pasuq*.

In line 3, as has already been argued in some detail, the traces at the beginning of the line are most probably to be read אִישׁ רֵעָהוּ “one another” thus preserving the first two words of Sir 16:28, while the offset traces quite clearly discernible within תשמח בבני (= Sir 16,1) would fit the first three letters of לְעוֹלָם “for eternity” but given the space between the alleged preposition *lamedh* and the ‘*ayin* perhaps one should better reconstruct the phrase as [... ועוֹלָם עוֹלָם ...].

Assuming that the two *yodh*-like marks above the taw of תבטח (Sir 16:3) are to be interpreted as *teth*, this would fit nicely with a reconstruction of הִבִּיט [הבִּיט] “he looked” (Sir 16:29). The other *yodh*-like trace (the one next to the וְ preceding תבטח) then may in fact be a *yodh*, although according to our Hebrew translation of SirSyr 16:29 one would expect an ‘*aleph*. However, if we assume that this is the first *yodh* of the abbreviation normally used for the tetragrammaton,

reconstructing [י']<sup>ו</sup> would fit the context (66). But what about the ambiguous offset marks visible above and between the ligature *'aleph-waw* and the *taw* of תאמך (Sir 16:3)? Obviously, if the reconstruction so far is correct, they cannot be interpreted as belonging to חי “life” in Sir 16:30a but they would very well match the *beth-reshekaph* of [וי] בִּרְכָה “and he blessed it [sc. the earth]” of the Hebrew translation of SirSyr 16:29b. The upper left part of the *kaph* still is visible protruding from the ו partially blending with the rounded part of the ligature (fig. 18 & fig. 19).

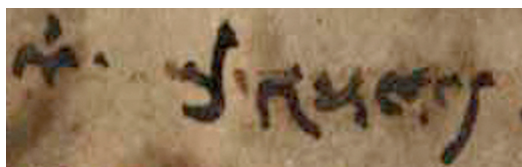


Fig. 18: Detail of Ms A VI (T-S 12.863) verso 4, reversed

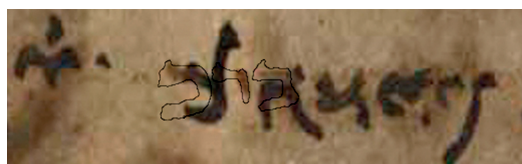


Fig. 19: Detail of Ms A VI (T-S 12.863) verso 4, reversed, with letters reconstructed from offset traces outlined

Thus I propose reading and reconstructing the text of the first four lines of the recto of the missing folio following Ms A VI verso as follows:

- 1 [חלק חקותיהם: ונתן לעולם מעשיהם וממשלתם דור לדור:]
- 2 [ל]אֵי יִרְעֻבוּ וְלֹא יִצְמָחוּ [מ]אֵי וְלֹא יִיגְעוּ וְלֹא יַעֲמְלוּ וְלֹא יַחֲסְרוּ גְבוּרָתָם:]
- 3 אֵי שֶׁ רָעֵהוּן לֹא יֵאָנְסוּ וְעַד עוֹלָם לֹא יַעֲבְרוּ דְּבָרוֹ: וְאַחֵר כֵּן]
- 4 [הַבִּיטָה] טִי [י] אֵל הָאָרֶץ וּיְבָרֶכְהָ בְּכָל תְּנוּבוֹתֶיהָ: ...]

- 1 [... he distributed onto their living beings their laws. And for eternity he assigned (them) their works and their authority from generation to generation.]

(66) Note that LXX reads καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κύριος εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐπέβλεψεν (SirLXX 16:29a) suggesting that at least the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX read the *tetragrammaton*. So maybe the Hebrew on the missing page following Ms A VI verso too read יי.

- 2 [They do n]ot hun[ger nor do] they th[i]rst, and [they] do not [grow weary nor do they toil, and they do not diminish in their strength]
- 3 They [do not harass] each other and] for ete[rnity they do not transgress his word. And after that]
- 4 Y[hwh] lo[oked at the earth and he b]lessed [it with all its fruits. ...].

### 3.2.1 Putting the reconstruction to the test

The following figures (fig. 19 & fig. 20) show the relevant portion of Ms A VI verso in normal and reversed view with the reconstruction of the alleged Hebrew version of Sir 16:26–29a.

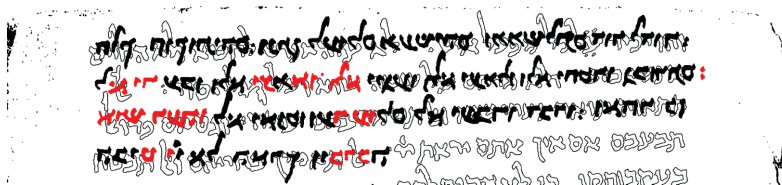


Fig. 20: Portion of Ms A VI (T-S 12.863) verso, with a reconstruction of line 1-4 of the recto of the following missing page

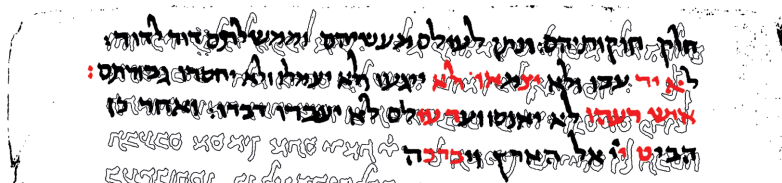


Fig. 21: Portion of Ms A VI (T-S 12.863) verso, reversed, with a reconstruction of line 1-4 of the recto of the following missing page

Again, characters reconstructed from offset traces are printed red. Note that in line 2, there is a rather wide space between the *resh* and *ʿayin* of [עב]ר, which has been chosen to make the *ʿayin* fit the otherwise illegible traces. But as we learn from the word בריותי in Ms A VI verso 19 (= Sir 16:16), such awkward spacing does indeed occur.

Once again I'd like to emphasize that counterchecking any reconstruction using an image manipulation program cannot prove a reading as being correct. Nevertheless we may check whether our reconstructed text may be plausible at all. Further study of Ms A in person may reveal more details.

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# THE HUSBAND'S OR FATHER'S AUTHORITY TO ANNUL HIS WIFE'S OR DAUGHTER'S VOWS INTRODUCTION

## *Summary*

The rules about the husband's authority to annul his wife's vows and oaths in CD XVI 6-12 and 4Q416 (4QInstr<sup>b</sup>) 2iv 6-11 seem at first sight to be conflicting. Whereas 4Q416 decrees the husband's unlimited authority, the CD seems to limit it. Cecilia Wassen indeed confirms this divergence, alleging that the CD restricts the husband's annulment authority exclusively to commitments which conflict with scriptural law. After an extensive analysis of the scriptural sources, and their rabbinic interpretation, the study effects a meticulous scrutiny of the CD text, and postulates the notion that the CD does not restrict the husband's authority, but advises him how to proceed regarding a commitment by his wife, which seems to conflict with a particular Qumran regulation. Hence, the two sources are not contradictory.

**W**E encounter in two sectarian writings seemingly conflicting rules regarding the husband's or father's authority to annul the vows of a wife and of a minor daughter. We read in CD XVI 6-12:

(1) ואשר אמר מוצא שפתיך תשמור להקים כול שבועת אִסֵּר אשר יקום  
אִישׁ עַל נִפְשׁוֹ לַעֲשׂוֹת דְּבַר מִן הַתּוֹרָה עַד מַחִיר מוֹת אֵל יִפְדֵּהוּ כֹל אִשֶּׁר [יִקְ]ִים  
אִישׁ עַל נִפְשׁוֹ לְסוֹר אֶת הַתּוֹרָה עַד מַחִיר מוֹת אֵל יִקְיֵמֵהוּ [עַל] שְׁבוּעַת הָאִשָּׁה  
אִשֶּׁר [אִשֶּׁר] אָמַר לְאִשָּׁה לְהֵנִיא אֶת שְׁבוּעָתָה אֵל יֵנִיא אִישׁ שְׁבוּעָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא [יִדְעָנָה  
אִם] לְהִקִּים הִיא וְאִם לְהֵנִיא אִם לְעַבּוֹר בְּרִית הִיא יֵנִיאָה וְאֵל יִקְיֵמֵנָה וְכֵן הַמִּשְׁפָּט  
לְאִבִּיהָ

(1) A parallel appears in 4Q271 (4QD<sup>f</sup>) 4ii 8-12. Text and translation from *DSSSEL* (Dead Sea Scroll Electronic Library), Brill, 2006.



“As for the passage ‘*observe what comes out of your lips*’ (Deut 23:24 H), it means to abide by *vac* every binding oath in which a man promises to do anything f[rom the L]aw: he may not break it [literally he may not redeem it], (2) even at the price of death. *vac* Every promise a man makes to depart from the Law he shall not keep, even at the price of death. [Con]cerning a woman’s oath: The passage that spea[ks of h]er husband annulling her oath (Num 30:9) means he should not annul an oath if he does not [k]now whether it should be allowed to stand *vac* or be annulled. If it violates the covenant he should annul it and not allow it to stand. *vac* The rule also applies to her father.”

In 4Q416 (4QInstr<sup>b</sup>) 2iv 6-11, (3) we encounter a different lemma regarding the husband’s authority to annul his wife’s vows:

ברוחה המשילך להתהלך ברצונָה ולא להוסיף נדר ונדב[ה] השב רוחה  
לרצונה וכל שבועת אסרה לנָדֹר נָדֹר [ה]פר על מוצא פיה וברצונה הניא[ה]  
מב[ל]י עשות מוצא [שפתיכה סלה לה] למענכה

Over [her spirit] hath He set thee in authority, So that she should walk in/according to thy good pleasure. And let her not make numerous vows and votive offering[s;] Turn *her* [?] spirit to thy good pleasure. And every oath binding on her, *that* she would vow a v[ow,] Thou shalt annul it by/according to the mere utterance of thy mouth, And at thy good pleasure restrain [her] fr[om performing the *rash* utterance] of *her* [?] lips. *Forgive (it) her* [ ] for thine own sake.

These two lemmas appear to conflict at first sight, and CD XVI 6-13 seems, as some scholars assume, to contradict the relevant biblical rule in Num 30, cited almost *verbatim* in the TS. The present study will consider Cecilia Wassen’s theory that indeed there is a contradiction between the two sources, and that CD XVI restricts the husband’s authority to annul his wife’s vows and oaths (4) only to those that

(2) This is the translation of the *DSSEL* by E. Cook, but the term פדה is used in Scripture to express redemption of a firstborn (Lev 27:27), substituting with money or redemption from slavery (Exod 21:8) or for compensating the death of a person negligently caused by his goring ox (Exod 21:30). Although the term פדה is not used in Lev 27 at the redemption of a dedication of animals, houses, fields, and persons, in essence it refers to redemption by money, like the above-cited redemptions in which the term is used. In above examples the term is used for a redemption by a substitution of money or other valuables, but it is also used for redemptions without any tangible substitution, such as God’s redemption of the Israelites, as in, for example: Deut 7:8; 9:26; 15:6, and many more.

(3) See Devorah Dimant, “Criteria for the Identification of Qumran Sectarian Texts,” *The Qumran Scrolls and their World*, Vol. 1 (Hebrew, ed. Menahem Kister, Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2009), 49-86, at 79 about the sectarian origin of 4Q416.

(4) Although this rule relates to both the husband and the father (וכן המשפט לאביה) “the rule also applies to her father,” in v. 12), I will refer in most cases, for practical reasons, only to the rule concerning the husband.

transgress biblical laws. (5) The study will argue against Wassen's assertion by appropriate analyses of the biblical and Qumran texts, by a comparison with rabbinic interpretation of the biblical text, and by logical considerations that preclude such an interpretation. I will argue that the CD rule about the annulment of the woman's oath in vv. 10–12 refers to different types of decrees and regulations from those recorded in vv. 6–9, which may refer to men and women alike, despite being written in the masculine. A thorough scrutiny of the relevant biblical texts, of their rabbinic interpretation, and of the CD text will support this thesis.

### Analysis of the relevant biblical texts

Since the CD lemma relates, as is evident from its literary language, to the two biblical rules of Deut 23:22–24 and Num 30:3–16, it seems advisable first to scrutinize these texts, the foundation of the above Qumran writings, particularly to clarify the differences between the two main terms נדר and שבועה, used in Scripture and in the Dead Sea Scrolls. I will then attempt a resolution of the apparent inconsistency between the two lemmas.

We read in Deut 23:22–24 (21–23 in KJV): 'כב) כי תדר נדר לה' (כב) אלהיך לא תאחר לשלמו כי דרש ידרשנו ה' אלהיך מעמך והיה בך חטא (כג) וכי תחדל לנדר לא יהיה בך חטא (כד) מוצא שפתיך תשמר ועשית כאשר נדרת לה' אלהיך נדבה אשר דברת בפך<sup>22</sup> If you make a vow to the LORD your God, do not be slow to pay it, for the LORD your God will certainly demand it of you and you will be guilty of sin.<sup>23</sup> But if you refrain from making a vow, you will not be guilty.<sup>24</sup> Whatever your lips utter you must be sure to do, because you made your vow freely to the LORD your God with your own mouth."

In Num 30:3 we have: איש כי ידר נדר לה' או השבע שבועה לאסר "When a man makes a vow to the LORD or takes an oath to deny himself from something permitted, he must not break his word but must do everything he said." (6) In v. 14 we have: כל נדר וכל שבועת אסר לענת נפש אישה יקימנו ואישה יפרנו or any sworn pledge to deny herself." (v. 13 in KJV)

(5) Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document* (Atlanta, GA.: SBL, 2005), 92–93.

(6) Although the text is written in masculine, the obligation to fulfill one's commitment applies equally to women. Literary expediency, namely, the exceptional rule at a woman's commitment in the next verse, determined its writing in masculine.

Before I get into the topic of the annulment of vows in Qumran literature, an analysis of the relevant biblical texts, the basis of the Qumran and rabbinic law, will be necessary. The comparison of the rabbinic exegesis of the biblical decrees with the Qumran rules will assist us in our attempt to better understand the Qumran regulations.

**The concepts of נדר, translated as “vow,” and שבעה, translated as “oath or pledge”**

From Deut 23:22–24 it is evident that the use of נדר relates to a commitment to do something, in this case to make an offering. This is clear from the context of the three relevant verses, based on the use of ועשית “to do” and on the association with נדבה, a “willing offering.” The NIV and the KJV translate נדר here and in Num 30 as a “vow” to offer something, which he must pay, but שבעה in Num 30 as a “pledge” to avoid doing something. Although שבעה does not appear in all verses of Num 30 relating to the woman’s commitment to avoid doing things, (7) the division between the two concepts of positive and negative commitment is evident from the context in which אסר appears, sometimes associated with שבעה and in other verses with the phrases מוצא שפתיה מבטא/מבטא “uttered by her lips/came out of her lips,” which are equivalent to שבעה “oath.” From the scriptural text it seems evident that the two terms and the two rules in Deut and Num refer to two different types of commitments. The obligations of vows and oaths appear together in Num 30 in the same verses because the obligation to fulfill the vows or the oaths/pledges refers equally to both positive and negative commitments. They are, however, divided by the coordinating conjunction “or”—in the introductory v. 3 referring to commitments made by a man, in v. 7 referring to the commitments of a married woman, repeated in v.11 referring to a woman living with her husband, and in the concluding v. 15—indicating that they relate to different types of obligations. As it seems to me, the text of Num 30:3 should be understood as follows: when a man makes a vow to do something (for example, bring an offering) or takes an oath to deny himself from doing something (for example, not to eat meat), these are considered as two distinct ways of taking an obligation upon oneself. (8)

(7) The TS indeed adds the term שבעה in 11Q19 LIII 17, the parallel of Num 30:4, in which this term is missing.

(8) We read there: ג) איש כי ידר נדר לה' או השבע שבעה לאסר אסר על נפשו לא יחל  
 דברו ככל היצא מפיו יעשה protasis  
 ז) ואם היו תהיה לאיש ונדריה עליה או מבטא שפתיה אשר אסרה על נפשה  
 (יא) ואם בית אישה נדרה או אסרה אסר על נפשה בשבעה

We do not encounter in Scripture the term **אסר** relating to a positive action, or **נדר** referring to a negative action. The latter always refers to an obligation to do something—in the overwhelming majority of cases to offer something to God—in tandem with **נדבה**, denoting a “willing offering,” (9) which obviously cannot refer to a negative prohibition to refrain from doing something. (10) The term **אסר**, on the other hand, cannot serve, from the etymological perspective, as indicating a positive obligation to do something. (11) Consequently, we must

(ט) ואם החרש יחריש לה אישה מיום אל יום והקים את כל נדריה או את כל אסריה אשר עליה הקים אתם כי החרש לה ביום שמעו

(v.2 in KJV) “When a man makes a vow to the Lord or takes an oath to obligate himself by a pledge, he must not break his word but must do everything he said.”

(v. 6 in KJV) “If she marries after she makes a vow or after her lips utter a rash promise by which she obligates herself.”

(v. 10 in KJV) “If a woman living with her husband makes a vow or obligates herself by a pledge under oath.”

(v. 14 in KJV) “But if her husband says nothing to her about it from day to day, then he confirms all her vows or the pledges binding on her when he hears about them.”

Since the *protasis* clearly indicates that the verse refers to two different types of commitment, it is evident that the conjunction “and” in the *apodosi*s refers equally to two different topics. In fact, the conjunction “and” used in some verses does not indicate one element; but the conjunction “or” is more explicit in its affirmation of referring to two different topics.

(9) The difference between the two positive terms is as follows: the **נדר** is a vow to do/offer something, usually with a condition, as Jacob has given, recorded in Gen 28:20: **וידר יעקב נדר לאמר אם יהיה אלהים עמדי ושמרני בדרך הזה** “Then Jacob made a vow, saying, if God will be with me and will watch over me on this journey I am taking... והאבן הזאת אשר שמתי מצבה יהיה בית אלהים וכל אשר תתן לי עשר אנשורנו לך” “and this stone that I have set up as a pillar will be God’s house, and of all that you give me I will give you a tenth.” (Gen 28:22). We encounter a similar vow in *m. Nazir* 3:6: **מעשה בהלני המלכה שהלך בנה למלחמה ואמרה אם יבא בני מן המלחמה בשלום אהא נזירה** “It happened that the son of Queen Heleni went to [fight at] the war, and she said [made a vow]: if my son will return safely [from the war] I will be a Nazirite during seven years.” The commitment to be a Nazirite is effected by a vow, as is written in Num 6:2: **איש או אישה כי יפלא לנדר נדר נזיר להזיר לה** “If a man or woman wants to make a special vow, a vow of dedication to the LORD as a Nazirite.” We also encounter in Scripture vows to do something associated with conditions in Num 21:2; Judg 11:30-31; 1 Sam 1:11 and other instances.

(10) Exod 25:2: **אשר ידבנו לבו** “whose heart prompts him to give”; Exod 35:21 **אשר נדבה רוחו אתו הביאו** “whose heart [literally spirit, *διάνοια* ‘thought’] moved him came and brought”; Num 29:39: **ולמנחתיהם ולנסכיהם** “and their freewill offerings, grain offerings, drink offerings, and fellowship offerings.”

(11) The term **אסר** in Scripture is used to portray something bound, “tied,” and its extension to “be imprisoned,” as we encounter in Judg 15 and in many other occurrences. Hence, it means that the tied and imprisoned person is restricted in his deeds and liberty and cannot do what he would like to; in our case it means he committed to restrict himself to avoid doing something, in essence, a prohibition, as it is used in the

understand the relevant texts of our inquiry, in Deut and Num, as postulated above.

The responsibility to fulfill one's commitments is the principal issue that associates these two texts; they are otherwise distinct in their type of commitment, since Deut 23 does not refer to negative commitments, as argued above, whereas Num 30 refers to both positive and negative commitments. The rabbis, however, associate them, at the same time discriminating between them in terms of the efficacy of the obligation to fulfill them, as we observe from *m. Ned.* 2:2: קרבן לא אוכל לך קרבן שאוכל לך לא קרבן לא אוכל לך מותר שבועה לא אוכל לך שבועה שאוכל לך לא שבועה לא אוכל לך אסור זה חומר בשבועות מבגדרים וחומר בגדרים מבשבועות כצד אמר קונם סוכה שאני עושה לולב שאני נוטל תפילין שאני מניח בגדרים אסור בשבועות מותר שאין נשבעין לעבור על המצות: [prohibited to me] "[If one says]: I will not eat from you; it should be like an offering (12) [or] what I may eat from you [should be prohibited to me] like an offering, he may eat, [because this is not a legal obligation, but] if he takes an oath not to eat [expressed in three different ways] it is forbidden [for him eating from the one he said.] There are cases in which oaths are more severe than vows, and other cases in which vows are more severe than oaths; how [is this maxim implemented]? If he said: the Sukkah I am building, the Lulav [palm fronds] I use [for ritual purpose], the phylacteries I bind should be prohibited to me like a sacrifice: if he [proclaimed it in the style of] a vow, he is forbidden [to use them], [but] if he [proclaimed it in the style of] an oath, he is permitted [to use them] since one cannot make an oath to transgress a precept [and therefore his commitment is invalid *a priori*]." (13) In contrast to my understanding of the relevant verses in Num 30, as stated above, the rabbis understood v. 3: או איש כי ידר נדר לה' או השבע שבועה לאסור אסור על נפשו as: "if a man

later rabbinic literature. The LXX translates it by the term ὁρισμός a "limitation": a boundary that cannot be crossed; that is, a prohibition.

(12) The נדר in Scripture refers to a vow to dedicate something to God [usually an offering], as is evident from Deut 23:22-24, in which the terms: עשה "to do" and נדבה "a free will offering" appear. But the rabbis call נדר a pronouncement: I will not eat from you; it should be prohibited to me like a קרבן "an offering-sacrifice" instead of an oath, as indeed it is. Herbert W. Basser, *Studies in Exegesis, Christian Critiques of Jewish Law and Rabbinic Responses 70-300 C.E.* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 37 states: "If one forbade himself/herself enjoyment of some food by saying it was now as if it were a Free-Will Offering, then that person declared a secondary vow."

(13) The first part of the *mishna* is extremely vague and complex, and the different MS show variations and attempts at later corrections. I will therefore consider its second part in my argument. That should suffice to demonstrate the rabbinic perception of the difference between the two types of commitments, in contrast to my simple interpretation of the relevant biblical texts.

makes a vow or an oath to deny himself [from doing what is permitted].” My understanding is that the conjunction “or” divides the two types of commitments, the positive נדר, namely to do something, and the negative שבועה לאסר, to avoid doing something; the rabbis, however, as it seems to me, understood the conjunction as unifying the two styles of pronouncing a negative commitment. Hence, it would follow that the entire text of Num 30 would not refer to positive commitments to do something—for example, to make an offering—but only to negative commitments to refrain from doing something, (14) expressed in two different manners. (15) Such an interpretation,

(14) *Tg. Ps. J.* interprets Num 30:3b: למיסר איסר ממדעם דהתירא על נפשיה “to prohibit a prohibition of what is permitted to him.” However, Lawrence H. Schiffman, “The Law of Vows and Oaths (Num 30, 3-16) in the *Zadokite Fragments* and the *Temple Scroll*,” in *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (ed. Florentino García Martínez, Leiden: Brill, 2008), 557-572 at 560 understands the  *mishna* as relating to both negative and positive commitments, stating: “in the case of a vow if one undertakes to fulfill or to violate a commandment, the vow is valid.” I agree with Schiffman that a vow to fulfill a commandment is valid, but the  *mishna* does not declare it; it is obvious. Schiffman then combines commitments to observe and to violate a commandment again, at the interpretation of the CD rule regarding the validity of oaths. He states, “An oath taken to observe or violate a commandment is valid,” whereas, as I understand the relevant CD, oaths to fulfill a Torah law or to violate one are two distinct rules with contrasting halakhot. In fact, Schiffman, at 558, divides the rules of oaths into two segments: (B) “to fulfill anything required by the Torah”; and (C) “to turn aside from the Torah.” Further, the  *mishna* does not cite any halakhah or example of an oath to fulfill a Torah law. It offers examples of the invalid oaths, which unquestionably refer to commitments against the Torah, justifying the halakhah, declaring: שאן נשבעין לעבור על המצות “because one cannot make an oath against the Torah precepts.”

(15) We read in *Sifre Num piska* 153: מה הפרש בין נדרים לשבועות בנדרים כנודר בחיי המלך בשבועות כנשבע במלך עצמו “what is the difference between vows and oaths; the vows is like making a vow on the life of the King, at oaths it is like making an oath on the King himself.” On the other hand, the same  *piska* says: איש להוציא את הקטן “[it is written in Num 30:3] a man [it comes to] exclude the minor [from this rule].” Then follows the justification of this ordinance: נאמר כאן נדר ונאמר להלן נדר מה נדר האמור להלן נדר ונדבה אף נדר האמור כאן נדר ונדבה. מיכן אמרו בן שלש עשרה שנה ויום אחד דבריו קיימים “the term vow is said here [in Num] and there [Deut 23], as there it refers to a vow and a free willing [offering], here too it refers to a vow and a free willing [offering].” The  *Sifre* does not clarify to which verse and subject the term “there” refers; we encounter the term נדר in Deut 23:22 regarding a vow to offer something, in Num 6:2 regarding a vow to be a Nazirite, and in Lev 27:2 regarding the dedication of a person [the value of his or her work] to God. The commentators interpret it as a deduction “Gzeira Shava” of a general rule that only a vow of a mature person, not of a youngster, is binding. This may be correct, but at the same time we observe that the term נדר “vow” refers in all compared instances to a positive commitment to do something or even more so to offer something to God, the values of a person or the dedication of one’s life to God, as it is written להזיר לה, like נפשת לה “[dedicate] persons [souls] to God.”

namely that Num 30 would refer solely to negative commitments, seems to conflict strongly, however, with the meaning of נדר in the biblical texts, cited above and in the parallel phrase נדר לה "a vow to the Lord" in Deut 23:22, explicitly referring to bringing an offering, as is evident from the succeeding phrase: לא תאחר לשלמו "do not be slow to pay it."

We observe, in conclusion, that the rabbinic interpretation of the apparently clear biblical texts subject to our inquiry is extremely complex, and the relevant cited *mishna* is not only vague, but also corrupted and contorted; *b. Ned.* 13a corrects some errors and distortions, while other MS correct still more. (16) The vague and at times unfathomable text of the *mishna*, and the rabbinic and commentators' analyses on the subject of the differences between נדר and שבועה, confirm our thesis on the lack of clarity in the text of the *mishna*. (17)

### Schiffman's Interpretation of the CD Rule.

As it seems, Schiffman assumes that the CD text accepts the above rabbinic legal distinction between vows and oaths, but differs with the rabbinic halakhah by asserting that "according to the *Zadokite Fragments*, an oath taken to observe or violate a commandment is valid. One who takes this type of an oath must stand behind his words." (18) It conflicts, as Schiffman states, with the rabbinic view that "if one swears either to fulfill or to violate any of the provisions of the Sinaitic covenant, that new oath is not valid." (19)

(16) The first part of the *mishna*: קרבן לא אוכל לך קרבן שאוכל לך לא קרבן לא אוכל לך read literally makes no sense; for example "it should be like a sacrifice what I will not eat from you." The following dictum makes sense: "what I will eat from you should be prohibited to me like a sacrifice," but the third dictum, "it should not be like a sacrifice what I will not eat from you," is again incomprehensible. I have made some adjustments in my translation of the *mishna*, but it does not correspond to the literal meaning of the text. See Hanoch Albeck, *The Six Treatises of the Mishna, Treatise Nashim* ([Hebrew] Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1968), *ad loc.*

(17) The commentator Ramban, for example, contends in his comments to Num 30:3 that Rashi was not careful in his explanation of the term נדר in that verse by quoting the *mishnaic* dictum of *m. Ned.* 2:2: נדר - האומר הרי עלי קונם שלא אוכל או: "the term 'vow' [in Scripture] is [as is stated in the *mishna*] the one who says: '[it should [be?]] prohibited to me]' eating something or doing something defined, like [eating] a [most holy] offering [prohibited to Israelites]." Ramban states: הוכירו הדבר הזה בשבועות "[the *mishna*] mentions it as [an example of] oaths [that is, a negative commitment not to do something] but the Rabbi [Rashi] mixed it up והרב החליפו לנדרים [by assuming that] the phrase לאסור אסר על נפשו refers to the [positive] vows [instead of referring to the negative oaths as the *mishna* does]." I infer that Ramban perceived, as I did, the difference between the positive concept of נדר "vow" and the negative concept of שבועה "oath."

(18) P. 560.

(19) *Ibid.*



There are some apparent differences between my understanding and Schiffman's of the second part of the *mishna*, as mentioned above in note 12, and a substantial variance regarding the CD halakhah about the oaths to do something to fulfill a Torah law, and conversely to do something against a Torah law. Schiffman's statement cited above—that according to the CD, an oath to violate a Torah law is valid—seems to me explicitly conflicting with the obvious text of CD XVI 8-9, as Schiffman too interprets it: "(C) Anything which a man shall impose upon himself (by a binding oath) to turn aside from the Torah, even at price of death let him not carry it out." Hence, it is invalid *a priori*, as the rabbis declare; he does not need any annulment of the oath, he just must not perform it up to the danger of death. I find this statement by Schiffman extremely odd, since upon further deliberation about the CD's attitude about an oath to violate the Torah he writes: "the law in this case is the same as that of the tannaim which provides that an oath to violate a commandment of the Torah was not to be kept." (20) This seemingly contradicts his previous statement. Schiffman's attempt to avoid this contradiction, by arguing that the *Zadokite Fragments* "discusses only binding oaths to fulfill a commandment... [but] those which were neutral or which required the violation of commandments could be annulled," (21) does not seem to me possible to reconcile with the explicit CD text, as translated by Schiffman under segment (C) "Anything which a man shall impose upon himself (by a binding oath) to turn aside from the Torah, even at price of death let him not carry it out." It does not mention any commitment about oaths of neutral acts, nor any possibility of annulment of an oath conflicting with a Torah law.

The author uses the term פדה in the first segment of his rule, since there are possibilities of redemptions in the Torah of some commitments, expressed as נדר or similar expressions, such as dedications in the Torah; (22) therefore he emphasizes that in contrast to a נדר, a commitment to do something, which can be redeemed, an oath to do something commanded in the Torah cannot be redeemed. (23)

(20) P. 561.

(21) Ibid.

(22) For further clarification of the different types of redemption, see n. 2.

(23) In fact, the rules of Num 30 and Deut 23:22-24 do not mention any redemption possibility. *M. Ned.* 3: 4, demonstrates that according to rabbinic opinion too, a commitment made by an oath is deemed more powerful and intractable than a commitment made by a vow. The *mishna* declares that one may attempt to save one's life or wealth from evildoers by claiming by a false *neder* that the property in question belongs to the King or other authority. While Beth Hillel permits the procedure if done by an oath, Beith Shammai prohibits it. Beth Hillel does not deny that a commitment by an oath is

Conversely, an oath to do something against the Torah law is invalid and must not be performed; the author discerns between the applications of the נדר, and of the שבועה “oath” as appears in Scripture, and as I argued earlier in the study. There is a method of redeeming a נדר “a vow,” in Scripture, but no such possibility exists in Scripture or in Qumran writings for a commitment by an “oath,” (24) as Schiffman alleges, except an annulment by a husband of his wife’s and a father of his daughter’s of both manners of commitments. In this case, the CD author uses the term הפסד 4Q416 2iv 9, as appears in the relevant biblical rule in Num 30.

In contrast to Schiffman, I do not believe in principle that the CD interpreted the biblical rules in such a complex way as the rabbis did, contrary to the plain and clear exegesis of the relevant biblical texts that discern between the נדר “vow” referring to a positive commitment, usually associated with a condition, and שבועה a commitment made in the manner of an oath. I believe to have demonstrated it above in my interpretation of the CD dictum. The author does not “ignore the *neder*,” as Schiffman alleges; his particular halakhah refers exclusively to commitments made in the manner of an oath to fulfill a Torah law or to transgress it, a rule which does not appear in Scripture. He does not divulge his halakhah about the lengths to which one must go to perform a “neutral act,” namely unassociated with a Torah law, but I would conjecture that according to CD, any commitment made as an oath must be fulfilled. He implicitly refers, however, to the *neder* in his citation of the term פדה discerning between the two manners of commitments: a *neder*, some of which can be redeemed, and a *shevuah*, which cannot be redeemed. He uses the term *neder* in the appropriate manner in association with the commitment to bring an offering in CD XVI 13 and 18, and with the term נדבה in 11Q 19 LIII 9-LIV 5. (25)

more severe than that made by a *neder*—both houses agree to it—but they are more lenient permitting a broader range of false declarations to save one’s life or wealth.

(24) The annulment of vows is a rabbinic innovation, as *m. Hag.* 1:8 confirms: היתר נדרים פורחין באויר ואין להם על מה שיסמכו “the annulments of vows are [like] flying in the air and have no basis [scriptural foundation].”

(25) Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4, XII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18, Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 178-80 argues that the CD conflates vows and oaths or reads them as synonymous terms. He supports his theory at 66, claiming that the phrase על שבועת האשה in CD XVI 10 corresponds to the biblical verse Num 30:4 ואשה כי תדר נדר לה' ואסרה אסר בבית אביה בנעריה, in which only the *neder* is mentioned in relation to a negative commitment to prohibit something permitted. Bernard M. Levinson, *A More Perfect Torah: At the Intersection of Philology and Hermeneutics in Deuteronomy and the Temple Scroll* (Winona Lake, IND: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 53 hypothesizes that at the time of the Second Temple “vows and oaths were not yet systematically and uniformly distinguished.”

### What Types of Obligations Can the Husband Annul?

We may now consider the second part of the CD lemma. On the basis of a reconstructed enigmatic phrase, Wassen argues for the common interpretation of CD XVI 6-13, that a husband and a father can only annul a vow made by his wife or daughter if it is against the Law. This interpretation raises many questions, and I propose to search for a better solution of this difficult text. (26) Wassen does not ignore the rule of 4Q416 that permits the husband, and implicitly also the father, “to annul all the vows and oaths a wife makes,” but she does not seem too concerned about it. To me, it does not seem reasonable to accept a conflict on such an important and practical issue between two documents originated by the same group. (27)

The context of Num 30:13 (12 in KJV), the source of the Law, appears to allow the husband to annul all the wife's or daughter's vows without any restriction. We read: **ואם הפך יפר אתם אישה ביום** “But if her husband nullifies them when he hears about them, then **all** that came from her lips, be it her [positive] vows [to do something] and her [negative pledges] to restrain her soul [from doing something], will stand” (28) (emphasis added). Her husband has nullified them.

(26) Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 92–93.

(27) The system of identification of sectarian or non sectarian writings of the Qumran Library is a debated issue among scholars. The relevant 4Q416 Instructions, however, is acknowledged as sectarian. Devorah Dimant, “Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts from Qumran: The pertinence and Usage of a Taxonomy,” *RevQ* 24 (2009): 7-18 states at 11: “Another (clear) case is the sapiential work *4QInstruction*. Again, its clearly sectarian character comes out through the usage of distinctive sectarian nomenclature.” The CD is equally a sectarian document. John J. Collins, “Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 97–111 at 109, writes: That there is some relationship between IQSa and the Damascus texts cannot be doubted, but there is also an important link between IQSa and the Community Rule.” See also Paul Heger, *Women in the Bible, Qumran and Early Rabbinic Literature; Their Status and Roles* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 193-195 my proposition that there is no contradiction between IQS and CD regarding the crucial issue of wealth sharing; both writings confirm it. Hence, there is no valid reason to presume that there were two distinct groups: a special group Yahad and all others. All healthy mature male members of the Qumran community were members of the Yahad, and obeyed the identical rules, as I demonstrate in pp. 184-188.

(28) The NIV interpreted the phrase **שפתיה מוצא** in this verse: “[all] what came from her lips,” but the essentially similar phrase **שפתיה מבטא** in v. 9 (8 in KJV) as “the rash promise.” I do not know whence the NIV translator came to the idea that the copula **שפתיה מבטא**, literally the pronunciation of her lips, refers to a “rash promise.” The KJV, on the other hand, translates it literally: “which she uttered with her lips,” following the Hebrew text. Wassen at 92 interprets **שפתיה מבטא** “thoughtless vows,”

The rabbis, however, relied on the qualifying phrase *לענת נפש* “to afflict the soul,” in v. 14: *כל נדר וכל שבעת אסר לענת נפש אישה יקימו*: “Her husband may confirm or nullify any vow she makes or (29) any sworn pledge to deny [afflict] herself,” which seems to limit the type of pledges/oaths that may be annulled only to those that afflict. In relying on this phrase, they ignored the comprehensive phrase with the adjective of quantity *כל* “all” in v. 13, quoted above, and decided to limit accordingly the husband’s authority. We read in *m. Ned.* 11:1: *ואלו נדרים שהוא מפר, דברים שיש בהן ענוי נפש*: “and these are the [type of] vows, which he annuls, those with a character of affliction [which engender some pain/discomfort to her (*b. Ned.* 80b)].” Since the *mishna* and the deliberations about it in *b. Ned.* 79b–81b are written in the singular, and contain rabbinic contemplations about additional qualifying restrictions for annulment of commitments that affect relations between man and woman, (30) some early commentators deduced that the application of the limitation applies only to the husband. Since the phrase *לענת נפש* appears only in v. 14, relating to the husband but not to the father, it follows that the father has unlimited authority to annul all his daughter’s vows and pledges/oaths regardless of their type. *Sifre piska* 155, however, decides by a *midrashic* method that the limitation applies equally to the husband and the father. (31)

probably following the NIV interpretation. I would hypothesize that they have done so because the term *שבעת* “oath” does not appear in this verse. Such interpretation is, however, not justified, since this term does not appear either in v. 13 (12) at the phrase *מוצא שפתייה*. The phrase *מבטא שפתייה* is associated with an oath, as we read in Lev 5:4: *תשבע לבטא בשפתיים* “[if a soul] swears pronouncing with his lips,” and consequently, the traditional commentators interpret the phrase *מבטא שפתייה* as relating to her pledge to avoid doing something. Furthermore, it is obvious from the context that both phrases relate to the succeeding term *אסר* “bound,” intending a negative commitment to avoid doing something, in contrast to the term *נדר* in the first part of the sentence, representing a positive commitment to do something.

(29) We observe that here (v. 13 in KJV) the NIV interpreted the biblical *נדר וכל שבעת אסר* as “and any,” and *אסר* as “or any,” as two distinct commitments, as I did, despite their connection by the conjunction “ו”.

(30) *B. Ned.* 79b discerns between the range of the two types of vows the husband has the authority to annul. The annulment of the vows associated with pain/discomfort is permanently valid, that is, even after his death or her divorce. But concerning the other vows related to the couple’s relationship—such as, for example, “I will not perform my make-up”—the husband’s annulment expires with his death or divorce, and then she is obligated to fulfill her vow.

(31) We read there: *תל אלה החקים אשר צוה ה' את משה בן איש לאשתו בין אב לבתו על כורחך אתה מקיש את האב לבעל מה הבעל אין מפר אלא נדרים [שבינו לבניה ונדרים]* “[After a lengthy deliberation of the pros and cons on the issue whether the limitations apply equally to the husband and father, it states: Num 30:17]: ‘These are the regulations

We observe that the rabbis found a way to curtail the husband's authority to annul his woman's vows simply out of frivolous whims without any reasonable motive, limiting it to logically justified instances. We must consider that according to the Law, a woman, like a man, is obligated to fulfill her vows; hence, compelling the woman to break her obligation is a sin, as we see from the statement in the biblical text that God will forgive her, *וה' יסלח לה*, since her husband or her father compelled her to perform the illegal act. It therefore seemed reasonable to the rabbis to establish some restrictions on the husband's authority in order to avoid causing unnecessary transgressions of the Law by the woman. Consequently, one may hypothesize that Qumran scholars also attempted to establish some limitations on the husband's authority in order to prevent unjustified transgressions of the woman's obligation to fulfill her oaths. (32) It is implausible, however, that Qumran would have flatly abrogated an explicit biblical law that awarded the husband the authority to annul his wife's vows and oaths, even when he did so against the Torah rule, namely later than on the day he became aware of it (Num 30:16, 15 in KJV). (33) It's also unlikely that in

the LORD gave Moses concerning relationships between a man and his wife, and between a father and his young daughter [still living at home]' comes to teach us that it is imperative to compare the father to the husband; like the husband can annul only the vows [affecting the relationship] between him [the husband] and her [his wife], which afflict, so is the father, who can annul only the vows [affecting the relationship] between him [the father] and her [his daughter], which afflict." We observe the problematic nature of this comparison; the precise meaning of the phrase *שבניו לבניה* is not exactly defined, and there are disputes about it in *b. Ket.* 71a+b, as for example, not to wash herself, not to put on her make-up, not to wear coloured dresses, and, according to some opinion, not to have sexual intercourse. Usually this phrase relates to intimate issues between husband and wife that do not apply to a relationship between father and daughter. In fact, Maimonides, in *Hil. Nedarim* 12:1, who asserts that the father can annul all commitments, justifies his decision by affirming that a pledge by the woman not to put on her make-up and her adornments, mentioned in the *mishna* (*Ned* 11:1), is an issue between husband and wife, not between father and daughter. Further, the cited text from *Sifre* uses the term *נדר* for a commitment that avoids doing something, a term that does not appear in Scripture for negative commitments (unless one does not divide between the phrase *כל נדר* and *וכל שבעת אסר*) and is not appropriate for the indicated subject of afflicting oneself, *לענות נפש*, which means to avoid doing something, as the demonstrated examples, and the meaning of its source in Lev 16 for the denials at the Day of Atonement, indicate.

(32) My assumption contrasts with Wassen's presumption at 93 that the CD's alleged strict limitation of the man's authority over the women's oaths "radically altered" the biblical law of Num 30, and consequently "women are empowered to be responsible for their own pledges."

(33) We read in Num 30:16: *ואם הפר יפר אתם אחרי שמעו ונשא את עונה* "If, however, he nullifies them some time after he hears about them, [she must still obey him, but] then he must bear the consequences of her wrongdoing [her sin will not be forgiven, but the husband will bear it]."

contrast to this law Qumran would have limited his authority to annul her vows to just those going against the Torah. Moreover, as mentioned above, 4Q416 seems to permit—in fact, to command—the husband to annul his wife’s oaths and vows (34) without any limitations on their nature.

On the basis of these premises, let us carefully analyze the relevant CD rule in our attempt to reveal a logical explanation for the apparent restriction of the husband’s privilege. 4Q416 seems, as hinted above, to command the husband by divine prerogative to impose his will on his wife, constraining her to walk according to the husband’s pleasure, that is, without any restrictions. (35) Its author evidently referred to the creation and “Fall” (36) narratives, in which God castigates Adam: **כי שמעת לקול אשתך** “because you listened to your wife” Gen 3:17. The short lemma of 4Q416 repeats three times the man’s right or duty to create circumstances designed to ensure that his wife’s functions are performed to his pleasure; this mandate and the author’s emphasis on the easily accomplished annulment by the husband’s “mere utterance” appear incompatible with any limitations of the husband’s authority to annul all of his wife’s vows and oaths. (37)

Regarding CD XVI, in addition to the fact that the text is heavily reconstructed, the authenticity of the reconstruction being dubious, we have to bear in mind that the lemma and its interpretation raise some questions. Its author seems to cite Deut 23:22-24 as his source, quoting verse 24a: **ואשר אמר מוצא שפתך תשמור** in the opening phrase (vv. 6-7) of his dictum. The text of Deut 23:22-24, however, relates exclusively to positive vows to bring offerings, whereas the subject of his dictum refers exclusively to oaths. He could have used instead almost identical phrases, such as: **מוצא שפתיה** in v. 13, **מבטא שפתיה** in vv. 7 and 9, and **ככל היצא מפיו** in v. 2 (38) from the text of Num 30,

(34) The original Hebrew phrase about the vows is heavily reconstructed from remnants of undetermined letters. Above is my interpretation, which may differ from other translations.

(35) I used the term “pleasure” from the translation by J. Strugnell and D. Harrington of the *DSSEL*. Literally it means according to your wish/desire, indicating the husband’s authority without any restriction.

(36) I am using this Christian term for the narrative of the expulsion from the Garden for convenience; it is not used in Jewish writings.

(37) It is not evident whether the author viewed this particular relationship between man and woman comprehensively, namely, that the wife should walk according to the husband’s good pleasure on all aspects of their common life, or specifically with respect to the topic of the wife’s vows, regarding their preclusion and annulment.

(38) Wassen asserts at 92 that CD “imposes the guiding principle for a vow [that it must be fulfilled] from Deut 23:23 (v. 24 in MT).” While this is true, Num. 30:3b: **שה לא יחל דברו ככל היצא מפיו יעשה** “he must not break his word but must do everything

the main source of his dictum, namely the rules about both vows and oaths and their annulment by husbands and fathers, the subject of his dictum. (39)

Wassen's interpretation asserting that the husband's authority to annul his wife's oaths is restricted to those that conflict with Torah decrees (40) raises further questions. If indeed the lemma refers to an oath against the Law, it is difficult to envisage what the husband's doubt might have been. The rules of vows and oaths are identical for men and women; both are deemed sinners for breaking their commitments. The only difference between men and women on this topic is the husband's authority to annul his wife's commitments, and a father's authority to annul the commitments of his daughter, regardless of their specific subject. Hence, if he knows, as transpires from the first segment, which commitments are against the Law, he should apply the rule to his wife's oaths; consequently, he should not be required to annul it, since an oath to do something against a Torah law is invalid, as is the rule regarding his oath. (41) His duty may rather be to ensure that she does not keep it, just as he is obligated not to perform such a vow, up to the danger of his life.

The CD, however, requires the husband's annulment of her oath, demonstrating that the author does not refer in the second segment to an oath to do something conflicting with a Torah law. He does not address the case of a woman's oath to perform a Torah rule or a neutral commitment, since Num 30 decrees clearly that he has the authority to annul any vow or oath, according to his decision, as is also evident from the rule of 4Q 416 iv 8-9, cited above.

If, nevertheless, one would allege that the rules of a woman's commitments were not identical to those relating to a man, (42) the

he said" would have offered a more appropriate "guiding principle." In fact, we observe that 11Q19 (11Q Temple<sup>a</sup>) LIII 13-14 quotes Deut 23 in support of the antecedent decree in relation to vows of bringing offerings, precisely its subject there, whereas the succeeding rules relating to denying oneself from doing something and the rules of annulling the women's vows are supported by the text of Num 30:3, as claimed above to be the appropriate verse for the relevant topic.

(39) The author's use of the two texts from Deut 23:24a and Num in his dictum demonstrates his wholistic approach to the Torah/Pentateuch laws, at least on the subject of our inquiry.

(40) Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 92.

(41) Unlike *m. Ned.* 2: 2, the CD author does not divulge the reason why such an oath is invalid, the basis of the halakhah, as it seems. I would assume that it is identical to the rabbinic motive.

(42) This is a rhetorical question, since it seems evident from the different rules of Num 30 that the obligations to fulfill vows and oaths are identical for men and women, although the text is written in masculine mode. Refraining from their fulfillment



author ought to have indicated the extent of the woman's obligation for the fulfillment of a positive vow, or for refraining from performing a transgression of a law, as he has done regarding the man's vow and oath. These questions appear to indicate that the acts relating to the woman's commitment in the CD lemma, vv. 10–12, are different in their essence from the acts relating to the man's obligations to accomplish positive vows or to desist from carrying out negative oaths, recorded in vv. 6–9.

A decisive argument against the interpretation that the verses regarding the woman's oath relate to acts against the Torah, like the oaths in the antecedent vv. 8–9, seems to me to be indicated in the text itself. If the general rule about the extent of men's obligation to fulfill vows and oaths in CD XVI 6–9 relating to Torah laws were equally the subject of vv. 10–12 relating to women's vows and oaths, one would expect the text to cite this subject by the same name. The author, however, uses the phrase לעבור ברית “transgress the covenant” in v. 12 at the description of the woman's oath, in contrast to the phrase דבר מן התורה “a commandment of the Torah” in vv. 7–9 at the general rule relevant to the vows and oaths of men and women. It is therefore clear that the two dicta refer to quite different issues. (43) It is evident from a meticulous reading of the text that the phrase לעבור ברית does not relate to the annulment of the woman's vows against Torah laws, but to rules of the particular New Covenant of the Qumran group, a term frequently used in Qumran writings for its portrayal. (44) 1Q28a (1QS<sup>a</sup>) I:4–8 offers, I believe, the ultimate substantiation of our assertion that לעבור ברית in CD XVI:12, the subject of our inquiry, relates, like the phrase חוקי הברית in 1Q28a I 4–8, to the specific rules of the Qumran Covenant. (45) We observe there two types of rules: חוקי הברית

is a sin, as we see that God has to forgive her for her failure to accomplish it, because her husband annulled it by authority given him by God, while on the other hand divorcées and widows must fulfill their commitments, like men.

(43) Wassen, 92, seems to overlook this crucial difference, and substitutes smoothly and without any hesitation the term “Torah” for “covenant,” stating: “If it [the oath] is to transgress the *covenant*, let him annul it and not allow it to stand. Consequently, there is only one guiding principle for obligations taken by oaths, namely that a pledge must be fulfilled unless it leads to a transgression of the *Torah*.”

(44) I will quote, for example, some of those verses in which it is unquestionable that the term relates to this specific Covenant: CD II 2–3; CD VI 11–12; CD VI 19; CD VIII 12; CD IX 2–3; CD X 5–6; 1Qp Hab II 3–4; 1QS I 16–18; 1QS V 9–11; 1Q28b (1QS<sup>b</sup>) I 2–3; 1Q33 (1QMilhamah) XVII 8–9; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4 8; 4Q256 (4QS<sup>b</sup>) III (3a–b):3.

(45) The term ברית appears most amply in Qumran writings, and refers to a covenant. In CD it appears in V 12 and XX 29 in association with the noun חוק, translated by E. Cook as: “the statutes of God's covenant,” and in XX 29 as: “covenant

“statutes” and משפטיהמה “laws,” read to the newcomer, including women and children. (46) It is not clear to which rules the two concepts refer. I suggest interpreting the first as relating to the rules of the Community, and the second as referring to the Torah rules, since it is evident that they relate to two different sets of rules and are not a repetition. The different verbs used for each type of teaching—for example: וקראו for חוקי הברית and להבינם for משפטיהמה in vv. 4-5, relevant to women and children, and respectively ישכילוהו and מוסרו in vv. 7-8, relevant to youngsters—support my thesis that the two concepts relate to two different sets of laws and rules. Hence, חוקי הברית “the statutes of the Covenant,” relate, like the many uses of ברית in Qumran writings, to some particular ordinance of the *Yahad* group, whose nature and problematic aspects are unknown, since the text does not offer us any hint about it. It may, however, explain the motive of the husband’s doubt whether the woman is obligated to fulfill a particular regulation of the Community—since women are not obligated to perform all the particular *Yahad* ordinances—if indeed the reconstruction of the current text is true to the original intent of the author. The author decrees that if the woman’s vow conflicts with a *Yahad* rule or custom, the husband should or rather must annul it.

### Comprehensive Conclusion and Some Reflections

The rule of 4Q416 (4QInstr<sup>b</sup>) 2iv 6-11, which emphasizes the husband’s authority or duty to annul his wife’s vows and oaths, just to fulfill his desire and pleasure, seems to me impossible to harmonize with the presumption that according to the CD, the husband’s authority is restricted to the annulment of oaths conflicting with a Torah law. Such regulation would also be in blatant incongruity with the rules in Num 30, which do not impose any restrictions on the husband’s authority to annul all commitments of his wife, even when carried out illegally. Further, as I have demonstrated, the husband’s responsibility to annul his wife’s oath to do something against the Law would contradict

laws,” an interpretation which I find correct. The term ברית in other instances in the CD must also be interpreted, according to its context, as referring to a covenant. See, for example CD I 4, 17, 8, 20; II 2; III 4, 10, 11, 13; IV 9; V 12; VI 2, 11, 19; VII 5; VIII 1, 18, 21 and so on. In 1QS V 2, we encounter: שומרי הברית, in V 3 המחזיקים בבִּרִית, and in 1QSa I 5 חוקי הברית. All must be interpreted as related to a covenant, not to anything else.

(46) We read there: וקראו בא[ו]נהמה [א]ת [כ]ל חוקי הברית ולהבינם בכול משפטיהמה “and read [a]ll the statutes of the Covenant. They shall be indoctrinated in all of their laws.” (trans. M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook with N. Gordon). I would translate להבינם “to make them understand in all their laws.”

the rule in the first segment that does not require an annulment of such an oath when made by a man. And last but not least, the different terminology used at the rules for man and woman indicates their distinct essence. While it is true that we do not know the nature of the commitment to which CD XVI refers, generating the husband's doubt as to whether to annul it or to validate it by his silence, I think we can say that we know what it is not, namely that it is not conditioned by a commitment to perform a prohibited Torah rule or to avoid performing a positive Torah obligation.

The CD rule neither acknowledges nor denies that "women, just like men, [are] accountable and responsible for the pledges they take," as Wassen attempts to deduce from it. (47) Scripture decrees it explicitly regarding the application of the rules concerning vows and oaths of independent women and men; both are equally responsible to fulfill their commitments. Married women, however, are legally dependent on their husbands, like minor daughters on their fathers, and Scripture absolves them from this obligation as long as they remain in their dependent state. The equal obligation of men and women to fulfill their commitments does not serve, however, as indication of the women's equality regarding all other scriptural rules and obligations, as Wassen attempts to deduce from the CD rule and from the equal obligation of man and woman, for example, to obey the Sabbath laws and the prohibition to consume blood. The issue regarding which precepts women are obligated to perform and from which they are exempted is extremely complex (48) and cannot be deduced from a few commands that apply to both genders. Qumran's prohibition of women from participating in the Passover meal (4Q265 [4QMisc Rules] 3 3) is only one significant example of the difference in this respect between the obligations of men and women according to Qumran law.

I would like to mention, in closing, that Wassen's opinion that the CD rule restricts the husband's authority to the annulment of only those vows and oaths that conflict with Torah rules would effectively demonstrate that women are not responsible for the accomplishment of the Torah rules, in contrast to her presumed intent and inference. If a woman were responsible for fulfilling the rules of the Torah, she would not require an annulment by her husband, as Wassen claims, just as he does not need an annulment in such a case. His duty to annul it would demonstrate that failing to do it her oath would be valid, and she

(47) Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 93.

(48) See Paul Heger, *Women in the Bible, Qumran and Early Rabbinic Literature: Their Status and Roles* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), in which I dedicated an entire chapter to this issue pp. 131-175, but does not solve all its extensive aspects.

would have to transgress the Law in order to fulfill her oath. Hence, it would result that the woman is not responsible for her deeds. (49) According to my hypothesis, however, the CD regulation relates to some specific *Yahad* rules, and her husband's dilemma, whether this rule obligates women and men alike, is logical, as is the CD decision. The CD rule does not relate to the husband's authority to annul his wife's vows; its subject is *in which cases* the husband must annul her vows, and the rule compels him to annul an oath that is against a *covenant regulation*, even if he is in doubt whether it also obligates women. (50)

Finally, I hope to have presented in this paper an equitable analysis of the differences between the simple understanding of the biblical rules of negative and positive commitments, and their rabbinic complex conceptualization. I believe, in light of my general study of Qumran writings, that their scholars adapted in this case, as is their usual comportment, the simple straight-forward method of interpretation of the biblical texts, the so called פשוט. My proposition for the interpretation of 4Q416 was guided by this principle and by my conviction that these scholars would not promulgate a regulation blatantly in conflict with the simple meaning of the Scriptural rule. I hope to have succeeded to convince the readers that there is no conflict, neither real nor apparent between the CD and the 4QInstruction ordinances.

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(49) Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition, and Redaction* (Atlanta, Ga.: SBL, 1998), 37 states: "great caution is required when inferring present-day realities from the references to women in the halakhic expositions of Num 30:7–9 in CD XVI 10:12 dealing with women's oaths."

(50) Cf. Moshe J. Bernstein, "Women and Children in Legal and Liturgical Texts from Qumran," *DSD* 11 (2004), 191–211 at 206–7: "In some cases, at least, the woman (single or married) is free to impose oaths upon herself without the risk of male annulment."

# THE LITERARY UNITY OF 1QM AND ITS THREE-STAGE WAR

## *Summary*

This article provides an account of the war in 1QM that attempts to resolve supposed contradictions and interpretive difficulties, which have occasioned multiple redactional theories. The thesis is that the war includes three-stages. Although a three-stage war has been suggested before, the present essay presents a different three-stage war that does more justice to the language of the war's outline in 1QM, to the Old Testament passages used to present the various stages of the war, and to the competency of the author and possible redactor(s). This thesis does not rule out redactional activity, but suggests that the extant copy of 1QM presents a unified account of the war.

**P**ROBABLY the most contentious issue regarding 1QM is its literary unity. From the earliest years after its discovery, scholars noticed the apparent lack of coherence to the entire document. (1) To begin with most general terms, the war is presented somewhat differently in cols. I and II, cols. III-IX present military tactics and information on the army that seems irrelevant to col. I, cols. X-XIV present hymns and prayers whose precise function in the war is ambiguous, and cols. XV-XIX seem to present a more detailed account of the war as described in col. I, but with some differences. A general assumption in these earlier works was that the intent of 1QM was to present a single war, namely, the final, eschatological battle. Differences in the presentation of this single war were then attributed to redaction, with various authors and dates of composition for various sections. Two early commentaries, those of Y. Yadin and J. Carmignac, assumed a literary unity in 1QM and attempted to interpret the entire document

(1) These scholars and their views will be discussed below.

as a coherent account of the war. (2) Their views, however, have not been accepted widely. The majority of works on 1QM suppose some sort of disunity and redactional history. Even the most recent monograph attempting a unified reading of 1QM assumes a redactional history, but does not focus on it. (3)

The intent of this article is to propose a unified reading of the extant copy of 1QM. Rather than beginning with an history of interpretation on the issue, this article will exposit the war in 1QM from beginning to end, dealing with opposing views and theories along the way. The starting point is therefore to discuss the apparently different wars presented in cols. I and II. Noting both the particular language used in these two columns as well as the Old Testament passages upon which the passages are modeled, one may discern two distinct stages to the war, described chronologically from the first column to the second. Columns II-IX fit most obviously with the second stage of the war described in the second column, which, as will be shown, is not a contentious suggestion. Columns X-XIV, which contain hymns for the war, may be satisfactorily placed within the war as well, although their liturgical nature does not demand an exact fit to result in a unified account of the war. For this reason, cols. X-XIV are discussed after cols. XV-XIX, in order that a full account of the war may first be discerned, into which the prayers may then be fit. The most novel contribution of this article is its understanding of cols. XV-XIX, which all would agree present a similar war to that in col. I, but which this article takes to be a second stage of that part of the war. The result will be a three-stage war, which progresses chronologically from the beginning of 1QM to its end. (4)

## I. THE WAR IN COLUMN I

The first column opens immediately with a description of a war between various parties, including, most notably, the sons of light, the sons of darkness, Belial, and the Kittim, among others. A crucial section for understanding this war in col. I is lines 3-5. Because there are lacunas at two important points in the text, it is difficult to know who is the aggressor and who is the victim. Lines 2-3 say that the sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin will war against the foreign armies,

(2) Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962); Jean Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1958).

(3) Brian Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered* (STDJ 76; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

(4) The difference between the three stages suggested here and the three stages suggested decades ago by Yadin will be discussed later.

<sup>3</sup> and after the war they shall go up from there <sup>4</sup> [...] the Kittim in/into Egypt. And in his time he will go out in great wrath to war against the kings of the north, and his anger to exterminate and to cut off the horn of <sup>5</sup> [...] אה will be a time of salvation for the people of God and a time of rule for all the men of his lot, and of everlasting destruction for all the lot of Belial.

Traces of the first letter of the first lacuna in line 4 are extant, and it has been conjectured as either ע, ה, or a ו; it is difficult to tell from the manuscript. (5) The last word of the second lacuna ends in אה, and is agreed to be the word והיאה (“and this”). Three types of reconstructions have been conjectured. The first considers Israel and God the aggressor, and Belial the victim. Hence, Yadin reconstructed the two lacunas with על כול גדודי (“against all the troops”) and בליעל והיאה (“Belial; and this”). Thus, Israel’s armies went up against all the troops of the Kittim in Egypt, and in His time, God warred against the kings of the north to cut off the horn of Belial. (6) Carmignac, and B. Jongeling following him, supported God as the aggressor because the words “wrath” (אף) and “anger” (קץ) are normally associated with God in 1QM (I 8; III 6, 9; IV 1, 7; VI 3). (7) Since the masculine singular suffixes on אף and קץ demand a singular subject in the lacuna at the beginning of line 4, Carmignac believed אל (“God”) must have filled the gap, along with a verb such as “to drive out” or “exterminate,” with the Kittim as the object. These conjectures were possible, and seemed to be the most likely reading, since the scroll tells of Israel’s victory over Belial, and even says in line 5 that this event in lines 3-5 will be “a time of salvation for the people of God.”

The second type of reconstruction takes foreign nations as both aggressor and victim. Dupont-Sommer conjectured עמים ומלך (“the peoples, and the king”) in line 4 and אויביו והיאה (“his enemies; and this”) in line 5. (8) Thus, the king of the Kittim enters Egypt, and then in his wrath goes out against the kings of the north in order to cut off the horn of his enemies. Thus, the king of the Kittim brings salvation to Israel by defeating her enemies who were threatening her.

(5) A digital, high-definition copy of 1QM is available online at “The Digital Dead Sea Scrolls,” <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/war>, accessed June 30, 2014.

(6) Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 258-59.

(7) Carmignac, *Règle de la Guerre*, 6-7; Bastiaan Jongeling, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre des Manuscrits de Qumrân* (SSN 4; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1962), 56-57.

(8) André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (trans. by G. Vermes; Cleveland, Oh.: World Publishing, 1962), 170; see also his transcription in “Règlement de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière,” *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 148 (1955): 29-30.



The third type of reconstruction takes the king of the Kittim as the aggressor and Israel as the victim. David Flusser conjectured **ויבוא מלך** (“and the king [of the Kittim] will go out”) in line 4 and **ישראל והיא** (“Israel, and this”). (9) Hence, the king of the Kittim attacks Israel to cut off her horn. Thankfully, the publication of the cave 4 War Texts vindicated this reading through manuscript evidence. 4Q496 1 3, which parallels col. I with few differences, retains the letters **ראל**, proving that Flusser was correct to conjecture **ישראל** in line 5 as the recipients of the attack. The singular subject in line 4 must therefore be “the king” rather than “God,” which is now generally accepted. While the verb **ויבוא** is conjectural, it is of reasonable size for the gap and fits the context. Lines 3-5 therefore do not tell of an offensive war launched by Israel, but of a defensive war. Israel will be attacked by the king of the Kittim, which will result in Israel’s salvation through God’s miraculous intervention.

Aside from manuscript evidence, Flusser’s interpretation also reads the war in col. I in line with Dan 11. (10) That col. I is based on Dan 11 is clear from at least ten different allusions:

IQM I 1	אדום ומואב ובני עמון	אָדוּם וּמוֹאָב וְרֵאשִׁית בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן	Dan 11:41
IQM I 2	מרשיעי ברית	וּמִרְשִׁיעֵי בְרִית	Dan 11:32
IQM I 4	ו[יבוא מלך] הכתים במצרים	מִצְרַיִם לֹא תִהְיֶה לְפִלִּיטָה	Dan 11:42
IQM I 4	ובקצו יצא בחמה גדולה	וַיֵּצֵא בְחֶמָא גְדוֹלָה	Dan 11:44
IQM I 4	להלחם במלכי הצפון	וּשְׁמֻעוֹת יִבְהַלְהוּ מִמְּזֻרָח וּמִצָּפוֹן	Dan 11:44
IQM I 4	ואפו להשמד ולהכרית את קרן	לְהַשְׁמִיד וּלְהַכְרִים רַבִּים	Dan 11:44
IQM I 6	ואין עוזר	וְאֵין עֹזֵר	Dan 11:45
IQM I 6	ופלטה לוא תהיה	לֹא תִהְיֶה לְפִלִּיטָה	Dan 11:42
IQM I 8	יאירו לכול קצוות תבל הלוך ואור	יִזְהָרוּ כְּזֹהַר הַקֶּרֶקֶעַ	Dan 12:2 (11)
IQM I 10-11	והיא עת צרה	וְהִיטָה עֵת צָרָה	Dan 12:1

**Figure 1: Allusions to Dan 11 in IQM I.** Notes: The lost portion of col. I may have drawn from Dan 12:1-3 and explained Michael’s part in the war.

(9) David Flusser, “Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll,” in *Qumran and Apocalypticism* (Judaism of the Second Temple Period 1; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), 147.

(10) By contrast, Jongeling claimed it is unnecessary to try to read col. I as using Dan 11 contextually (*Rouleau de la Guerre*, 56).

(11) **זָהַר** in the hiphil and **אָוַר** in the hiphil are synonyms meaning “to shine.”

The war in col. I should therefore be read in light of the chronology of the war in Dan 11:40-12:3. (12) This occurs as follows. The king of the north heads to Egypt, passing through Israel, but does not pour his wrath on Edom, Moab, the Ammonites, or those with them (Israelites who have covenanted with them), because they have all signed a treaty with the king of the north (Dan 11:40-41; 1QM I 1-2). The Israelites in league with the nations are those who have “transgressed the covenant” (1QM I 2). While the king of the Kittim is in Egypt (1QM I 3), Dan 11:44 says kings from the north and east will alarm the king of the north, and he will take off to war against them, which is portrayed in 1QM I 4. The king of the north then wages war on Israel “between the sea and the glorious holy mountain” (Dan 11:45), which is where the sons of light resided after they “return[ed] from the desert to camp in the wilderness of Jerusalem” (1QM I 3). This war will be a “time of trouble” (עת צרה) for Israel (Dan 12:1; 1QM I 11-12), and “none was like it, hastening until the completion of everlasting redemption” (1QM I 12). Yet, despite the king’s aggression, he mysteriously comes to an end (Dan 11:45). 1QM I 5 implies this by noting the deliverance of Israel immediately after mentioning the attack of the king. This deliverance, according to Dan 12:1, comes (partially?) through Michael’s agency. Verses 2-3 then tell of the resurrection, in which “those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sky above.” 1QM alludes to Dan 12:2-3 in line 8, “And the sons of righteousness will shine to all the ends of the earth and they will shine continuously until all the completion of all the appointed time of darkness.” While there is no explicit mention of the resurrection in 1QM, and Michael is only mentioned as one of four angels in IX 15-16, it is likely that both were either implied or mentioned explicitly at the bottom of col. I, which is now lost. (13) B. Schultz believes this interpretation of Dan 11:40-12:3 could have been made after the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 164 B.C.E., when Daniel’s vision seems to have failed, but not too late into the Hasmonean state, since by the time of Alexander Jannaeus, Edom, Moab, and Ammon were mostly under Jewish control. (14)

(12) See further, Flusser, “Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll,” 140-58; Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 86-102.

(13) Hence, 1QM should be considered evidence of belief in the bodily resurrection in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

(14) Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 101-02. This would place the dating of at least col. I of the War Scroll in the mid-second century BC.

## II. THE WAR IN COLUMN 2

Determining the relationship between the wars in col. I and col. II may be the most vexing issue for understanding 1QM. The columns seem to describe two different wars. In col. I, we have a war against the king of the Kittim and his allies, which include three nations and Belial with his troops. This war, based on Dan 11:40-12:3, is a defensive war within the land of Israel, initiated by the attack of the king of the Kittim. The war is a time of terrible distress for the sons of light (1QM I 11-12), and it seems the battle will last only a day (יום, I 9, 10, 11, 12). Or, if “day” is metaphorical, it will last only a short time, perhaps days or weeks. There are seven rounds of battle. The sons of light will win three rounds, and the army of Belial will win three (I 13). It seems they will lose, so much so that God must strengthen their hearts on the battlefield (I 14). In the seventh round, God will supernaturally intervene and defeat Belial and his angels and troops. While only the sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin fight this war, this refers to the totality of “true” Israel, the Israelites who have not violated the covenant.

The war in col. II seems to be a completely different war. The column begins with a description of restored temple worship, which contradicts the description of the sons of light as exiles in I 2. This period is referred to as “the appointed time of the year of release,” which is a Sabbath year. After describing how temple worship shall be conducted during the Sabbath years (cf. II 8), II 7 says that during the “remaining thirty-three years of the war, the men of renown, those called at the assembly, and all the heads of the fathers of the congregation, shall choose for themselves men of war for all the lands of the nations.” Hence, while the war in col. I is fought by all Israel (i.e., the entire remnant) and lasts a “day,” the war in col. II is fought by chosen warriors and will last decades. Lines 10-E (End) outline how the war will progress. Israel destroys nation after nation, defeating one or more nations per year for the first nine years. They then defeat all the sons of Ham in ten years and finally all the sons of Japhet in the last ten years. In this war there seems to be no great time of distress, as in col. I. Rather, Israel marches triumphantly to the ends of the earth, laying waste to everyone in their path. There is no mention of Belial or the Kittim in col. II; only the sons of Seth, Ham, and Japhet, signifying the totality of the nations.

In order to determine the relationship between these two wars, one must determine the timeline of the war in col. II, which is ambiguous. While II 7 refers to the “remaining thirty-three years of the war,” II 9-10 contain the other temporal references, but with syntactical and lexical ambiguity.

בחמש ושלושים שני העבודה תערך המלחמה שש שנים ועורכיה כול  
העדה יחד ומלחמת המחלקות ב{{ע}}תש<ע> ועשרים הנותרות.

"In the thirty five years of service the war will be prepared/waged for six years and the entire congregation shall prepare/wage it together. Now, the war of the divisions in the remaining twenty-nine years:"

First, there is a syntactical issue of minor significance. The final sentence lacks a verb and begins with a strange *waw*. Since the following verses outline the years of the War of the Divisions in list fashion, this final phrase in line 10 is probably a heading, "Now, the War of the Divisions in the remaining twenty-nine years:" (15) Other such headings occur throughout IQM (e.g., III 13; V 3; IX 10).

Next is the important question of whether ערך here means "prepare" or "wage," i.e., whether these six years are fighting years or preparatory years. The verb in biblical Hebrew can mean "to set in rows," "to set in order, to prepare," or "to draw up a battle formation." (16) Thus, considering the verb on its own would lead to the most likely translation of "prepare for battle." However, when used with מלחמה, the verb generally means "to draw up a battle formation" (e.g., Gen 14:8; Judg 20:20; 1 Sam 17:2). On this basis, Yadin translated the verb "wage war" and included the six years as fighting years. Since the entire congregation wages war during these six years, Yadin thought they referred to the war within Israel against the Kittim and Belial (I 1-4). (17)

However, despite the initial attractiveness of this solution, the verb should be translated "prepare" here for several reasons. First, although ערך with מלחמה refers to drawing up a battle formation, this refers only to the preparatory stage of the fight, not to the fighting itself. For example, in 1 Sam 17:2, the armies prepare for battle but never engage. (18) Second, the war within Israel, in which the entire (faithful) congregation fights, has already been described in the first column. Col. II is not describing a war in which the entire congregation fights. IQM II 6-8 has just referred to the selection of warriors (i.e., not the entire congregation) who will fight the War of the Divisions. Moreover, col. I describes the war against the Kittim as lasting a "day," not six-years. Hence, it is unlikely that the six years of II 9 refer to active war against the Kittim waged by the entire congregation. Third, the translation

(15) The verb ערך could be implied to create a full sentence, but this is unlikely given the meaning of the verb, on which see below.

(16) HALOT, s.v. ערך.

(17) Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 264-65.

(18) Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 173.

“prepare” provides some realism to the description of the intricately prepared weaponry used by Israel. If they are given six years to prepare everything for the war, cols. III-IX become more realistic. Fourth, the first sabbatical year plus six preparatory years may draw on Ezek 39:9, which says it will take seven years to burn all the weapons left over after the war. (19) Ezek 38-39 are used elsewhere in 1QM, which supports the possibility of an appropriation of Ezek 39:9 here.

By translating ערך “prepare,” we may now resolve the ambiguity in the numbers outlining the war. According to II 10-14, there are exactly 29 years of fighting. This is the most straightforward number, since each year of fighting is outlined. However, these are not consecutive years, since every seven years there is a sabbatical year in which fighting ceases (II 8-9). Hence, the twenty-nine years of fighting are outlined as  $6 + 1 + 6 + 1 + 6 + 1 + 6 + 1 + 5$ . Each six years of fighting is followed by one sabbatical year, although in the last set of fighting years only five years are needed to finish off the last of the enemy. During the fighting years, there are a total of four sabbatical years. When added to the sabbatical year that begins col. II, there are a total of five sabbatical years in col. II. The two difficult numbers are the “remaining thirty three years of the war (מלחמה)” in II 6 and the “thirty five years of service (עבודה)” in II 9. The thirty-five years of service includes all years of the war in which the army is actively serving, whether it be fighting or preparing for war (hence, “service” and not “war”). Thus, the number thirty-five is arrived at by adding the six preparatory years to the twenty-nine years of fighting. The five sabbatical years are excluded because they are not years of service, but of rest. The total years of the war are therefore forty. (20) The “remaining thirty-three years of war” must then be derived from this implicit forty years of war. In order to make this number work, we must assume the six preparatory years occur before the sabbatical year that opens col. II. This totals seven years of war, which, when subtracted from the total of forty years of war, leaves us with the “remaining thirty-three years of war” in II 6. (21)

(19) Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 37; Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 176.

(20) Agreement that the war totals forty years is virtually unanimous.

(21) For a similar timeline of the war, see Carmignac, *Règle de la Guerre*, 35; van der Ploeg, *Rouleau de la Guerre*, 73; Jongeling, *Rouleau de la Guerre*, 91, although he mentions the possibility that the six years of preparation and the following Sabbath together constitute one seven-year Sabbath.

The Forty Year War of the Divisions in Column 2										
Prep	Sab	Fight	Sab	Fight	Sab	Fight	Sab	Fight	Sab	Fight
6	1	6	1	6	1	6	1	6	1	5
“Remaining thirty-three years”										
Sons of Shem				Sons of Ham				Sons of Japhet		

**Figure 2: Chronology of the Column II War.**

Notes: Years of fighting add to “29 years”; “Sab” refers to “Sabbath year.”

### III. RECONCILING THE ACCOUNTS OF THE WAR IN COLUMNS 1 AND 2

Commentators have approached 1QM from two angles when attempting to reconcile the accounts of the war in cols. I-II. Some have suggested the purported contradictions occur because of a compositional history, which left 1QM disunified. Others have suggested that 1QM is a unity, whether or not it has a compositional history, and have attempted to reconcile the two accounts of the war.

#### Explanations Supposing Disunity

The difference in the description of the wars in cols. I-II has been a major piece of evidence for those who posit a redactional history for 1QM. However, there is more evidence throughout the document. The prayer in XII 7-16 is repeated in XIX 1-8, suggesting possible redaction. Columns XV-XIX share lexical and thematic affinities with col. I, while cols. III-IX share affinities with col. II. For example, the enemies in cols. XV-XIX are the same as those in col. I: the king of the Kittim and his people (XV 2; XVI 3-9; XVII 12-15; XVIII 2-4; XIX 10, 13), Belial and his army (XV 3, 17; XVI 11; XVIII 1, 3), the “sons of darkness” (XVI 11), Assyria (XVIII 2), and the sons of Japhet (XVIII 2). The phrase *עַת צָרָה* (“time of distress”) occurs only in I 12 and XV 1. The war in these columns also emphasize God’s mighty intervention, whereas cols. III-IX detail military personnel and weaponry, emphasizing the human element of the war as in col. II. Column II shares with cols. III-IX the idea that the War of the Divisions will suffer no setbacks. The military tactics are almost ceremonial, and they will march through the nations, destroying them one by one, year by year. Thus, it is possible two different traditions have been brought together: cols. I with XV-XIX and cols. II with III-IX. (22) Such an idea has been at the forefront of redactional theories for 1QM.

(22) Cols. X-XIV will be discussed later.

More possible evidence of redaction is the mention of the ספר סרך עתו (“book of the rule of Itto/of His time”) in XV 5 and the ספר המלחמה (“book of the war”) in XV 6. (23) The former contains “the prayer for the time of war” (XV 5), while the book of the war contains instructions for the battle formations (XV 5-6). These books may have been sources for the war scroll, which lends itself to hypotheses concerning redactions (although not necessarily so). Another problem for 1QM’s unity is the account of the trumpets, which seems inconsistent. The trumpets appear in cols. III; VII; VIII; IX; XVI; XVII; XVIII and are listed most extensively in col. III. There is no systematic list of trumpets or their inscriptions, suggesting possible redactions. (24)

Finally, the most important evidence for a compositional history are the cave four War Texts, which were unavailable to the early commentators (4Q471, 4Q491-496). Some of the texts, such as 4Q492, which contains the prayer in 1QM XIX 1-8, follow 1QM closely with few divergences, and are likely copies of 1QM, or of the same recension. Other texts, such as 4Q493, contain some material not found in the parallel passages in 1QM, such as “trumpets of the Sabbaths,” catapults and ballistas for weaponry, and the burnt offering and the *Tamid*. This text is therefore likely not a copy of 1QM or of the same recension. (25) However, the cave four texts are the most difficult evidence to assess. These texts may be sources for 1QM, different recensions of 1QM throughout its compositional history, poorly transcribed copies of 1QM, or developments of 1QM. (26) To this date, there has been no full investigation of the cave four texts and their bearing on 1QM’s compositional history, so it cannot be certain that these texts prove the existence of various recensions of 1QM.

Based on the above evidence, and more not reviewed here, several authors have developed theories of redaction for 1QM. These authors fit cols. I-II into their redactional theories variously. J. Becker divided the final form of the text into cols. I-IX and X-XIX, the former characterized by an introduction and combat rules, the latter by

(23) While both readings are somewhat conjectural, they are plausible, given the extant letters, and fit the context well.

(24) See van der Ploeg, *Rouleau de la Guerre*, 14-17.

(25) See an overview of the evidence and some cautious conclusions in Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 366-90; also see J. Duhaime, “War Scroll (1QM, 1Q33),” in *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations 2; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 80-83, 142-97.

(26) This problem is further complicated by the fact that, while the documents have been roughly dated through paleography, these dates only hold for the copies of the documents, not the original date of composition.



battle prayers. (27) Since cols. X-XIV; XV-XIX are somewhat parallel in structure and in content, but also present slightly divergent pictures of the war, Becker supposed these are two different traditions. The seven lot war in col. I corresponds to the war in XV-XIX (see, e.g., XVII 16, "the third lot"), which are both distinct from the tradition in cols. X-XIV. Becker believed the war in col. I was a distinct and contradictory account to the war in col. II, since the first is a decisive annihilation of all the nations while the second is a long war against various opponents. The differences in the wars are therefore the result of poor redactional work.

J. van der Ploeg was cautious in his conclusions, but for several reasons found it hard to believe in a unity in 1QM. (28) The war tradition in cols. XV-XIX has no place for battle tactics (such as the ambushes) and therefore differs from the tradition in cols. III-IX. He correlated the war in cols. I and XV-XIX, which he distinguished from cols. III-IX (esp. cols. VII-IX). in which there are seven battalions of infantry of 1,000 men each, who join the battle with the 21,000 other infantry and the cavalry. The seven-lot war in col. I is likely the earliest literary strata, out of which grew the tradition of seven battalions in cols. VII-IX. Columns I-II describe the same war, but the accounts are contradictory, because the war in col. I is a decisive defeat of Belial in one day while the war in col. II is a forty year campaign against the nations. The contradictory war traditions in cols. I-II are therefore again the result of poor redaction.

Phillip Davies wrote the most extensive study on 1QM's compositional history and found in 1QM a heavily fragmented set of diverse traditions. He believes van der Ploeg's arguments "destroy" the theory of unified authorship held by Yadin and Carmignac. (29) Columns II-IX are composed from seven different sources written after Maccabean success fueled Jewish military ambitions. (30) Columns XV-XIX are the product of a heavily redacted Maccabean war rule, an earlier stage of which is found in XIV 2-12a. (31) Columns X-XII were independent hymns redacted into a single prayer before battle, probably deriving from Macabbean times, while columns XIII and XIV were also

(27) Jürgen Becker, *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumran-texten und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 43-50.

(28) J. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre* (STDJ 2; Leiden: Brill, 1959), 12-22.

(29) Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* (BO 32; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977), 13.

(30) *Ibid.*, 46-47, 66.

(31) *Ibid.*, 73, 123.

independent fragments. At this point of 1QM's history, cols. II-IX and XV-XIX represented distinct war traditions, while X-XIV were various traditions brought together as hymns for the war. Lastly, col. I was added to give a dualistic tinge to the entire document, in line with cols. XV-XIX, and a war timeline was created that sought to synthesize the two different accounts of the war in II-IX and XV-XIX. The original war plan in XV-XIX envisioned one encounter, with no reserve troops or waves, while II-IX, which envision such a scheme, are a later development. (32) Not only did col. I give a dualistic tinge, but so also did the framework of the priestly prayers in columns XV-XIX (XV 2b-7a; XVI 3a, 11-15a; XVII 16-18:3a; XVIII 5b, 6a; XIX 10-E), which are later additions. (33) Davies followed Yadin by translating ערך as "wage," but rather than supposing the six fighting years referred to the war from col. I, he supposed these six years were described in the lost end of col. I. He conjectured I 1-2 is a later redaction attempting to revise the account of these six years into six lots. (34) This theory is the inverse of van der Ploeg's, which suggested col. I was the earliest literary strata rather than the latest. Davies upheld his conclusions in an essay in 2010, in which he argues that only 1QM and 1QS have dualistic passages. (35)

The suggestion that 1QM has a compositional history with multiple literary strata is not implausible, especially given the cave 4 evidence, but results through these studies have been unsatisfactory. A common theme is that the redactor who added the later strata did so poorly and left many contradictions in his wake. It seems unlikely that a redactor would so blatantly contradict the text to which he was adding. Moreover, some of the work supposing a heavily redacted text may be the result of circular logic, arbitrary reasoning, and possible false dichotomies. (36)

(32) Ibid., 77.

(33) Ibid., 83.

(34) Ibid., 26.

(35) Philip R. Davies, "Dualism in the Qumran War Texts," in *Dualism in Qumran* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits; LSTS 76; London: T & T Clark International, 2010), 8-19.

(36) Just to give a few examples from Davies' work, he suggests "army of Belial" and "sons of darkness" in I 1-2 are redactional edits, and then finds it strange that the rest of col. I only refers to these two titles (*1QM*, 26). More likely is that these two terms refer to the spiritual and physical aspects of the nations. Again, noting that most trumpet inscriptions consist of two words, the second being *el*, he imposes his own rule on the text that any inscription deviating from this pattern is the work of a redactor (ibid., 31-32). But he finds nine such inscriptional expansions, which suggests his imposed rule may be arbitrary and incorrect. Davies believes the passage referring to the Prince of the entire congregation (V 1-2) is a later addition because he does not have any armor and does not appear elsewhere (ibid., 35-36), which seems arbitrary and does

These theories also do not do justice to the fact that several lines are missing from the bottom of each column, any section of which could relieve tensions throughout the document. It is also most unlikely to see a contradiction between cols. I-II, since they are so blatantly different that the redactor would have to be truly incompetent. Thus, while 1QM may have a compositional history, theories that suggest a unity—even a redacted unity—hold more promise. (37)

### Explanations Supposing Unity

Yadin presupposed a unity to 1QM and attempted to resolve all the tensions, often with creative ideas coupled with a vast knowledge of second Temple Jewish and rabbinic literature. (38) Regarding cols. I-II, as we saw above, he translated עָרַךְ in II 9 as “wage,” and supposed that these six years of waging war corresponded to the war in col. I. Since these six years were fought by the entire congregation, he divided the entire war into two parts, one part in which the entire congregation fights, and a second part in which the chosen divisions fight. The first part he divided into two phases, the first in which the entire congregation defeats Israel’s neighbors and traditional enemies, the Kittim of Asshur, and those who transgressed the covenant (rebellious Israelites), and the second phase in which the entire congregation defeats the Kittim in Egypt. It is therefore a three phase war, with phases one and two corresponding to col. I, which lasts six years, and the third phase corresponding to col. II, which lasts twenty-nine years. The problems with Yadin’s view are his interpretation of עָרַךְ and the unlikelihood that col. II, after moving on to the “remaining thirty-three years” (II 6), would revert back in II 9 to talking about the war in col. I. Also, his view requires six years for the war against Kittim and Belial, but we have seen this war lasts only a “day.”

Carmignac supposed 1QM was unified and argued the two wars are the same, with the enemies described in terms of Ps 83:7-9 in col. I and Gen 10:22-23 in col. II. Column two is a more detailed account of the war. This view is unlikely because of the multiple differences we have noted between the two wars. The temporal references also make it unlikely. Column I opens with “the beginning (רֵאשִׁית) of the sending of the hand of the sons of light against the army of the lot of the sons

not consider either that the Prince may be Michael, who would perhaps not need armor, or that the Prince is mentioned in one of the lost parts of the 19 cols. (we have seen it is possible Michael was mentioned at the end of col. I, corresponding to Dan 12:1-3).

(37) I will comment further in the conclusion on how the results of this study may assist those working on the War Scroll’s compositional history.

(38) See the introduction and the text to his commentary, *Scroll of the War*.

of darkness,” while II 6 refers to the “thirty-three remaining years.” It therefore seems that col. I precedes the war in col. II and inaugurates the war.

The most recent monograph on the War Scroll by B. Schultz attempts to read 1QM as a unified composition, albeit a redacted unity. Schultz harmonized cols. I-II by suggesting a two-stage war (as opposed to Yadin’s three-phase war). (39) The first stage involved the defensive battle against the king of the Kittim and his allies, which lasted a “day.” The sons of light would experience great losses, a time of great distress, but in the seventh lot God would intervene to defeat Belial and the Kittim. This is the “beginning” (ראשית [I 1]) of the war. Since col. II opens with renewed temple service, Schultz believes the end of col. I either explicitly or implicitly tells of the sons of light retaking Israel completely, including Jerusalem, and re-establishing temple worship. After taking Jerusalem, there are six years of preparation for the War of the Divisions. During these six years, the ingathering of Israel occurs, which is why only three tribes fight the war in col. I but all tribes are involved in the War of the Divisions. During these six years, they also prepare the weaponry for war and cleanse the land and temple to restore proper worship. At the end of these six years, the Sabbath year that opens col. II occurs, which is the last year before the beginning of the “remaining thirty-three years” of the War of the Divisions.

Schultz’s reading of the two columns does justice to the Dan 11-12 background to col. I, the temporal markers in the text (“beginning” [I 1]; “remaining” [II 6]), the fact that col. II opens with no introduction to a war and presupposes that a war has begun, and resolves the problem of a blundering redactor who would juxtapose two seriously conflicting war traditions. That col. II opens in a restored Jerusalem coheres with VII 3-4, which says Israel will go out to war from Jerusalem during the War of the Divisions. Moreover, this reading of cols. I-II actually resembles a Jewish eschatological hope, which would involve subduing the nations from Jerusalem (e.g., Isa 2:1-3). Considering the problems of other theories, and barring a better solution, Schultz’s theory must be considered the best solution. (40)

(39) Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 86-239, esp. the summary on pp. 238-39.

(40) In Davies’ review of Schultz’s work, he found the “major conclusion of [the] book” unconvincing, although he thought this major conclusion was “that 1QM contains two different accounts of an eschatological war, in cols. 1-9 and 15-19, and they features [*sic*] different Kittim” (“Review of B. Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered*,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 72 (2010): 580). He finds Schultz’s attempt to read 1QM as a unity unconvincing and believes he has ignored compositional features, thereby failing to grasp 1QM’s redactional history. “He is content to expound the scroll’s contents as the product of a single hand without

## IV. COLUMNS XV-XIX

While Schultz's reading of cols. I-II seems to be the most persuasive to date, his reading of cols. XV-XIX is less satisfactory. Although cols. I and XV-XIX share many lexical and thematic affinities, he also correctly notes several differences between them. Whereas col. I is a defensive war, fought against the king of the Kittim, several nations in and around Israel, and Belial, the war in cols. XV-XIX is against "all the nations" (XV 1, 13; XVI 1; XIX 10). (41) Schultz believes the universality of the war suggests Ezek 38-39 is the inspiration for these columns, in contrast to the inspiration of Dan 11:40-12:3 in col. I. He also notes the finality of the war in cols. XV-XIX, which differs from col. I, which is only the beginning of the war. He concludes cols. I and XV-XIX were composed by different authors, in agreement with Davies. (42)

This conclusion is unsatisfactory, mainly because the evidence to suggest Ezek 38-39 is the template for cols. XV-XIX is so scanty. There are only three lexical affinities and one thematic affinity between 1QM XV-XIX and Ezek 38-39. Lexically, the war in both 1QM XV-XIX

addressing the numerous arguments of those who have claimed otherwise, especially in cols. 2-9 and 10-14" (ibid., 580). It seems Davies has somewhat misunderstood Schultz. While noting different traditions behind the wars in cols. I and XV-XIX is one conclusion of Schultz's work, his main thesis is the two-stage war laid out in cols. I-II. Moreover, to claim he has not addressed redactional arguments seems off the mark, since Schultz is aware of the arguments (e.g., *Conquering the World*, 367), but resolves most of the purported contradictions through his interpretation of cols. I-II. Similarly, one reviewer writes, "Schultz believes that comprehending the subtle relationship between cols. I and II in this manner is the key to understanding the rest of the scroll" (Chad Martin Stauber, "Review of B. Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered*," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 19 [2012]: 239). J. Duhaime, who has produced the most recent critical edition of 1QM and the cave four War Texts, says Schultz's "identification of two stages in the eschatological war in 1QM 1-2 provides a credible explanation for the apparent tension between these two columns" (Jean Duhaime, "Review of B. Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered*," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 41 [2010]: 432). Thus, Davies' objections to the two-stage war thesis seems misguided, while others involved in the study of 1QM have received the two-stage war favorably.

(41) Although, the specific nations from col. I are not completely out of view, since 18:2 mentions Assyria and the sons of Japhet, two of the specific enemies in 1:2, 6.

(42) Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 276-77; Davies, *1QM*, 21. Van der Ploeg thinks it is "possible, sinon probable, que l'idée de la guerre eschatologique contre les Kittiyîm et les autres peuples païens a trouvé chez les sectaires de Qumran son principal appui scripturaire dans cette prophétie d'Ézéchiël" (*Le Rouleau*, 143). See also Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 323-26, where he claims Ezek 38-39 is the basis for cols. XV-XIX.

and Ezek 38-39 is against “all nations” (כול הגוים), (43) also referred to in 1QM as “all flesh” (כול בשר, XV 13; XVII 8). The word “hordes” (המון) describes the enemy in 1QM XV 10-11 and Ezek 39:11, while the nominal and verbal forms of “assemble” (קהל) are used in relation to the enemy in 1QM XV 10-11 and Ezek 38:7. The thematic affinity is that Gog’s attack on Israel will occur after the restoration from exile to Jerusalem, which has already occurred before the start of 1QM II and is thus presupposed in cols. XV-XIX. While Schultz would also include the allusions to Ezek 38-39 in XIX 1-8, it is not clear that col. XIX is the original context of this prayer, as it could be col. XII. For now, then, XIX 1-8 must be excluded from the present question.

1QM XV 1	“For this will be a time ... of war against all the nations (הגוים בכול).”	“All the nations (כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם) shall see my judgment.”	Ezek 39:21
XV 13	כול הג[. . .]		
XVI 1	כול הגוראים		
XIX 10	כול הגרים		
XV 13; XVII 8	כול בשר		
1QM XV 10-11	“All the assembly of their [ho]rdes ...”  וכול קהל [ה]מונם	“There Gog and all his hordes will be buried.” וְקָבְרוּ שָׁם אֶת־גּוֹג וְאֶת־כָּל־הַמּוֹנָה  “all your assembly assembled about you.” וְכָל־קְהָלְךָ הִתְקַהֵּלִים עָלֶיךָ	Ezek 39:11        Ezek 38:7

Figure 3: Allusions to Ezek 38-39 in Columns XV-XIX, Excluding XIX 1-8.

The defeater for Schultz’s theory is not only the scanty evidence, but also the influence of Ezek 38-39 in at least two of the prayers in cols. X-XIV (XI 13-XII 5; XII 7-16). In the first, Gog is mentioned

(43) 1QM XV 1, 13; XVI 1; XIX 10; Ezek 39:21; orthographic variances exist in these instances.

explicitly and allusions are made to Ezek 38:23, 7 (1QM XI 15-16). In the second, allusion is made to Ezek 38:12, 13, 16. (44) Even if we exclude XII 7-16 from consideration, since we have not yet determined its original context, it still remains that two allusions to Ezek 38 occur in 1QM XI. The most allusions to Ezek 38-39 occur in the repeated prayer, whose original context and function is not yet determined. It is more likely, then, that Ezek 38-39 is *a* source for 1QM, but not necessarily *the* source for only cols. XV-XIX. The universality of the war against Gog may be the source for the universality of the war in cols. XV-XIX, but if so, the same idea must be imported into at least cols. 11-12, which demonstrate the same influence. In short, Ezek 38-39 is not so great an influence on cols. XV-XIX, nor is it so exclusive to cols. XV-XIX, that one must see complete discontinuity with col. I, and therefore two different sources.

It is possible that cols. XV-XIX actually record the second and final stage of the war against the Kittim and Belial, which comes after the War of the Divisions. The war in col. I is defensive, within Israel, against a few nations. It therefore cannot be the complete destruction of these nations. Indeed, Assyria and the sons of Japhet, two of the enemies in col. I (lines 2, 6) are mentioned in XVIII 2, and Assyria again in XIX 10, proving they were not defeated completely; only the troops within Israel were defeated. As I 1 says, the col. I war is only the “beginning of the sending of the hand of the sons of light against the army of the lot of the sons of darkness, the army of Belial...” This phrase could mean that the col. I war inaugurates the total war, but it could also mean more specifically that it is only the beginning of the fight against the Kittim and Belial, i.e., the first stage. While this battle does in fact launch the entire war, it is only the first stage of the fight against these forces. 1QM I 8 also suggests the fight against Belial in col. I is not a final battle: “And the sons of righteousness will shine to all the ends of the earth and they will shine continuously *until all the completion of all the appointed time* (מועד) of darkness.” This appointed time would correspond to the “day” of XV 3, the “time of vengeance” of XV 6, and more pertinent, God’s “appointed time (מועד) to humiliate and abase the prince of the dominion of evil” (XVII 5-6). It is possible that XVIII 10-11 refers to the completion of darkness prophesied in I 8: “For you know our appointed time (מועד) and today it shines (הופיע) for us, for you [have sho]wed us your merciful hand toward us in everlasting redemption, removing forever the enemy do[mi]nion and your mighty hand” (XVIII 11). This passage may be an intentional development of I 8, signifying this final battle as the appointed time when

(44) These allusions will be demonstrated below in the section examining XII 7-16.



darkness would be completed and the sons of righteousness, in accordance with Dan 12:3, would shine forever in the resurrection.

Under this reading, the war in 1QM would begin with an initial defeat of the Kittim and Belial within Israel (col. I), continue with the War of the Divisions as an outward subdual of the nations (cols. II-IX), and conclude with victory over the final gathering of all the remnants of the nations and Kittim, backed by the power of Belial (although some specific enemy nations retain an individual name, suggesting they were particularly hated enemies). That Belial could stand behind all the nations—those listed in col. I and col. II—is an idea perhaps gleaned from Dan 10:20, which refers to the “Prince of Persia” and the “Prince of Greece,” suggesting that behind each nation stands an evil power. This idea could be the reason 1QM refers to the “Prince of the Whole Congregation” (V 1) and “Prince of the Dominion of Evil” (XVII 5-6). If this is correct, cols. XV-XIX envisions a final battle with all the remnants of the nations, who are backed by the power of Belial. This defeat will be final, “removing forever the enemy do[mi]nion and your mighty hand” (XVIII 11).

#### V. THE PRAYERS IN COLUMNS X-XIV

If I am correct thus far about the war envisioned in 1QM, I must now explain how cols. X-XIV fit into the war. These five columns contain several prayers. Since many extend into the lost ends of columns, it is difficult to know where some of them start and begin. By respecting the vacant lines left by 1QM’s scribe, which seem to suggest prayer divisions, we may tentatively divide these five columns into at least ten prayers. (45) By examining the language and themes of all ten prayers, we may determine whether the prayers belong to the War of the Divisions, the War against the Kittim (first or final stage), or to some other war or battle. Since examining all ten prayers would be too comprehensive for this study, I will discuss a chosen few which demonstrate the ambiguity of the function of these prayers.

The first prayer begins at the lost end of col. IX and extends to XI 12. It quotes Deut 20:2-5, in which the priest is commanded to stand and exhort the fainthearted and send away those who are too afraid to fight (1QM X 2-5). 1QM X 6-8 then quotes Num 10:9, which commands Israel to blow the trumpets when an enemy oppresses them in their land. The prayer then praises God for creation and exclaims

(45) 9:E-11:12; 11:13-12:5; 12:7-16; 12:17-E; 12:E-13:3; 13:4-6; 13:7-17; 13:18-14:1; 14:2-15; 14:16-E (Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 256-57).

“the battle is yours” (XI 1, 2), citing Goliath and Pharoah as evidence of past victories. The quote from Num 10, on which col. II is based, the mention of trumpets (cf. col. III), and the liturgical instructions for a priest fits in with the War of the Divisions, where military procedure is emphasized. However, Num 10 also refers to their enemies oppressing them in their land, which evokes the defensive fight against the king of the Kittim in col. I. Moreover, this prayer is the only one in which Belial or the Kittim are mentioned (XI 8, 11). It is therefore unclear whether this prayer is intended for the war against the Kittim and Belial (first or second stage or both) or against the nations.

The next prayer extends from XI 13 to XII 5. The opponent here is “the enemies of all the countries (כול הארצות)” (XI 13). God is also said to make himself holy in the eyes of “the remainder of the nations (שאר הגוים)” (XI 15). Both of these clauses echo the nations of col. II. Similarly, the armies of Israel are “thousands” and “tens of thousands” (רבואות), a word that appears elsewhere only in II 17 (conjectured) and IV 16. However, certain features of the prayer echo the Kittim War. There is a heavy emphasis on the holy ones (XII 1, 4), who will help God gain the upper hand in the battle (XII 4), which suggests victory is not certain and God’s intervention through angelic powers will save Israel at the last moment. There is also an explicit reference to Gog in XI 16. Although Ezek 38-39 is not the overwhelming source for cols. XV-XIX, it is not a source for cols. II-IX. This fact would suggest this prayer belongs with the Kittim war. On balance it seems this prayer corresponds more to the Kittim war, but retains elements reminiscent of the War of the Divisions.

A third prayer begins at the lost end of col. XII and continues to XIII 3. Although we do not know how the prayer began, col. XIII begins by referring to “his brothers, the priests and the Levites and all the elders of the array with him” (line 1). We seem to be in the realm of restored temple worship, as in col. II. However, the prayer they are to recite from their positions is a blessing of God and a cursing of “Belial and all the spirits of his lot” (XIII 1-3). This prayer, as the last two, is unclear about the part of the war in which it is to be recited, and what its function is.

Indeed, this entire section of prayers in cols. X-XIV shares this ambivalence. Various theories have been proposed to reconcile this difficulty. As noted above, Davies argued cols. X-XII were independent hymns redacted into a single prayer for before the battle, probably deriving from Maccabean times, while cols. XIII and XIV were also independent fragments. These five columns of prayers are a redacted disunity, composed vaguely for the one war, which is presented inharmoniously. Yadin believed these prayers were the “prayer for the time

of war, [as it is written in the ‘Bo]ok of the Rule of Itto (or ‘his time’), with all the words of their thanksgivings,” which would be spoken by the High Priest in the twenty-nine year war of the divisions (XV 4-5). Since col. XV does not record the prayer, he supposes it is recorded in cols. X-XIV. The chief priest would recite the prayer before the entire congregation before arraying battle formations, while the “priest appointed for the time of vengeance” would walk through the lines after formations are arrayed, strengthening the soldiers. (46) Supposedly, this would occur at each battle throughout the twenty-nine years. If this were true, cols. X-XIV could be for the War of the Division, since the priest appointed for the time of vengeance is probably the “one priest” in VII 12, who walks along the battle lines to strengthen the troops. However, the mention of this prayer for the time of war in col. XV, with a recorded prayer by the appointed priest (XV 7-E), could suggest that cols. X-XIV are intended for the final stage of the Kittim War in cols. XV-XIX.

Schultz’s view is that the prayers in cols. X-XIV are adapted from cols. XV-XIX in order to fit the War of the Divisions. He argues that the additions to XII 7-16 (from what exists in XIX 1-8) correspond to language of the War of the Divisions. He also argues that the prayer in XIV 2-4a corresponds to the one in XIX 9-13, but that they reflect the two different stages of the war: the former the War of the Divisions, the latter the Kittim War. (47) Because Schultz believes Ezek 38-39 inspire cols. XV-XIX, and because of the mixed nature of the prayers, he believes the intrusion of the Gog war influence into cols. XI-XII shows that cols. XV-XIX are an earlier strata and a source for the prayers.

Ultimately, one’s view of cols. X-XIV are tied up with one’s view of the war and 1QM’s literary unity. I believe the mixed nature of cols. X-XIV may be explained by the fact that it is the same army in the War of the Divisions that fights the final stage of the Kittim War in cols. XV-XIX. After the twenty-nine years of war against the nations, these chosen warriors will array one last time for a final battle against the Kittim and Belial. There is therefore a blurry line between the wars in cols. II-IX and XV-XIX, with the latter serving as the capstone of the former. Hence, if the prayers are for the War of the Divisions, elements of the final Kittim battle creep into the prayers, perhaps in a prophetic way, portraying the nations in terms of the final enemy. If the prayers are for the final Kittim war, then references to circumstances surrounding the War of the Divisions (e.g., restored temple worship

(46) Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 209-16.

(47) Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 272-92, 304-05, 398.

presupposed in XIII 1) should not be problematic, since the results of the War of the Divisions remain intact up to the point of the final Kittim war.

This proposal would explain elements of the War of the Divisions that reappear in cols. XV-XIX. For example, there are no trumpets in col. I, but they feature in the War of the Divisions (esp. col. III) and cols. XVI-XVIII. (48) These trumpets were prepared during the six years after the war, and are then used in the War of the Divisions and the final stage of the Kittim War. While cols. II-IX legislate military tactics and battle formations, cols. XV-XIX narrate the same during the final stage of the Kittim War (e.g., XVI 3-9). Many have noted the tactics, formations, and use of the trumpets differ in cols. II-IX; XV-XIX, often serving as evidence of redaction. (49) But the differences may be explained by the fact that two different wars are being presented. For example, reserve waves are needed in cols. XV-XIX because losses are expected, with only God's final intervention bringing victory, while no reserves are needed in cols. II-IX because victory is basically automatic. Another similarity is the cavalry in cols. VI and IX and their probable presence at the lost end of col. XVIII. This section would have contained the opening lines to the prayer of XIX 1-8, which correspond to the opening lines of the same prayer in XII 7-16, which refers to the cavalry (XII 9). (50) Since they were prepared during the six years and used in the War of the Divisions, their presence in the final Kittim battle is assumed and likely mentioned in the XIX 1-8 prayer.

If this understanding of the war and its progression in 1QM is correct, then cols. X-XIV function for the War of the Divisions, the final Kittim war, or both. As Yadin noted, XV 4-5 says the High Priest is to recite "the prayer for the time of war" to prepare for battle during the final Kittim war, but this prayer is not recorded. Yadin is probably correct that the reason the prayer is not recorded is that it has already been presented in cols. X-XIV. (51) However, the beginning of col. X gives reason to believe the prayers are also intended for the War of the Divisions. The lost end of col. IX does not seem to have contained some new heading or topic shift. Col. X opens mid-sentence with a command to keep the camps pure from every "naked thing" (ערות דבר), allusion

(48) 1QM XVI 3, 5, 7, 9, 12; XVII 10, 11, 12, 15; XVIII 4.

(49) E.g., Davies, *1QM*, 77; van der Ploeg, *Rouleau de la Guerre*, 18-19.

(50) See Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 253; J. Z. Wee, "A Model for the Composition and Purpose of Columns XV-XIX of the War Scroll (1QM)," *Revue de Qumran* 21 (2003): 282.

(51) Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 209-16.

to Deut 23:14), which develops the command to bar boys and women from the war camps in VII 3-4. The prayers do not start until X 8b, so X 1-8a are likely a continuation of the discussion of the war in cols. VII-IX. 1QM X 2-5 quotes Deut 20:2-5 with the command for the priest to stand up and speak an exhortation to the nation. This command is therefore set within the context of the War of the Divisions. With no transition in line 8 from the quotation of Num 10:9 to the beginning of the prayers, 1QM is authored or redacted to suggest the prayers of cols. X-XIV are intended *at least* for the War of the Divisions.

But there is no need to dichotomize. If cols. XV-XIX truly are a second stage of the Kittim War, then it is entirely possible that cols. X-XIV are both a continuation of the instructions for war in cols. II-IX and the prayers intended for the final Kittim war alluded to in XV 4-5. Deut 20:2-5 stipulates that the priest is to stand and speak a prayer whenever Israel is approaching the battle against their enemies. The author records this brief prayer in X 2-5, but it seems X 8-XIV E are an expansion of this prayer from Deuteronomy. It is therefore not necessary to believe that the prayers must be intended for one or the other stage of the war. (52) The sect believed in a strict adherence to the law, and would therefore not fail to have the priest recite a hortatory prayer before any battle. The prayers are omitted in col. I because the sons of light are at this point exiled from Jerusalem, with no organized priestly service and no High Priest to recite them.

## VI. CONCLUSION

My attempt has been to demonstrate a unified reading of 1QM in its extant form. This reading does not negate a compositional history, but only suggests that the extant form of 1QM, as it was organized by its author(s) and perhaps also redactor(s), presents a unified account of the war. This war involves three stages: first a “day”-long defensive war in Israel against the Kittim and Belial; second, a forty-year offensive war against the nations, including six years of preparation, five Sabbaths, and twenty-nine years of fighting; third, a final attack on the remnants of the nations, backed by Belial’s power, which would usher in the eschaton and the resurrection. This understanding of the war helps us better comprehend the sect’s biblical interpretation, their eschatology, and their fervent hope in their God who would give them universal victory over not only the nations, but also over the demonic power that backs them.

(52) Schultz must believe so, since he believes cols. XV-XIX is the same Kittim war as that in col. I and therefore fought before the war in cols. II-IX.

If this proposed reading of 1QM is correct, there are also implications for redactional theories. First, it provides an explanation for the seemingly disparate accounts of the war in cols. I and II. There is no need to suggest these are different materials from different authors merged together by a clumsy redactor. Second, it explains why cols. XV-XIX seem to be the same Kittim war as in col. 1 but diverge in their description of it. Neither version of the Kittim war need be secondary, worked into the document by a subsequent redactor. If cols. XV-XIX are simply the second and final stage of the Kittim-Belial war, then there is no reason why the same author could not have written cols. I-II and cols. XV-XIX. Cols. III-IX follow coherently after cols. I-II, and I have attempted to demonstrate how the prayers in cols. X-XIV function for the second and third stages of the war. The implication is that, if this reading is correct, then redaction theories based on contradictions within the text or disparate versions of the war are faulty and unnecessary.

Lastly, 1QM need not have been composed by one author without any pre-existing materials. It is likely that the “book of the rule of Itto/ of His time” (XV 5) and the “book of the war” (XV 6) were pre-existing sources used by the author (and possible redactors) to compose 1QM. The prayers in cols. 10-14 are so rich with OT language that it would take a masterful author to compose it freely. These were perhaps pre-existing prayers or hymns used in the community of the author or authors. The use of pre-existing materials is not problematic for a unified reading of 1QM, especially when the document names its sources.

But the cave four texts cannot be dismissed. The evidence is scanty and fragmented to the extent that it is difficult to know how to interpret it. These texts may be sources for 1QM, different recensions of 1QM throughout its compositional history, poorly transcribed copies of 1QM, or developments of 1QM. But, from examining the texts in comparison with 1QM, even if they are various recensions, it does not seem to disturb the main outlines of the war in 1QM. For example, 4Q492 has few divergences from 1QM XIX 1-8 and is therefore likely the same recension; the differences may be attributed to scribal freedom or error. 4Q493 contains extra trumpets and weaponry and more information about the temple service, and therefore may be a different recension. But this extra information still fits within the vision of the war in 1QM; perhaps the ideal weaponry or ideals about purified temple services changed over time and each recension was updated. These diachronic changes to the War Scroll could potentially be significant for the theology of the sect at various stages of its existence (especially, e.g., their ideals for purified temple services). However, it would first need to be firmly established that these divergences are actually attributable

to multiple recensions of the document, which does not yet seem to have been confirmed with full persuasion.

Hence, this study has attempted to read 1QM as a unity, which should assist (rather than debilitate) those who wish to study possible recensions of the War Scroll. Such a study might consider 1QM the “official” (and perhaps the latest) version of the text since it was stored in cave 1, and the various recensions could then be compared with the presently proposed synchronic reading of 1QM.

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# FIERY SHEOL IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS (1)

## *Summary*

This paper highlights that a fiery underworld is attested in several Qumran texts, expressed through the uniquely Hebraic term “Sheol” (שְׁאוֹל). This topic has often gone unnoticed in studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS). A scholarly consensus has been reached about the existence of a dualistic post-mortem judgment in several DSS, such that people await either reward or punishment after death. As noted by Klawans, however, primary emphasis has been placed on the kinds of reward, whether in the form of physical resurrection or immortality of the soul, envisioned in these texts. There is a general neglect of the DSS’s perceptions of the post-mortem punishment. The situation is most recently remedied by Nebe’s article entitled “Scheol in den Schriften vom Toten Meer.” Even though Nebe does summarily notice that one scroll (4Q491 frg. 10 II 17) depicts the fiery judgment of God reaching down to Sheol, he does not observe that several other scrolls from Qumran (1QM XIV 16-18; 4Q491 frgs. 8-10 I 13b-15; 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV 25-26a; 4Q184 frg. 1 6-11a) begin to associate Sheol with fire even more closely. This paper thus fills the lacuna by elucidating the fiery nature of post-mortem punishments in the Sheol of the DSS.

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“HOW DOES THE UNDERWORLD LOOK?”

CONFRONTED by this question, the first imagery that flashes through our mind is probably “fire”! The fiery imagery is prominent in Western, especially Christian, imagination of the underworld. *Paradise Lost*, the *magnum opus* of John Milton (1608-1674), for instance, pictures Satan falling into the “bottomless perdition” filled with “penal fire.” (2) At the bottom right hand corner of the fresco of the *Last Judgment* in the Vatican, Michelangelo (1475-1564) paints the boatman Charon shoving the damned souls out of his boat into a fiery hole. (3) In the Lukan story (1st century C.E.), when poor Lazarus finally finds rest in Abraham’s bosom, another rich man thirsts for water in the eternal flame of Hades (16:19-31). (4)

In this paper, I would like to highlight that a fiery underworld is also attested in several Qumran texts, expressed through the uniquely Hebraic term “Sheol” (שְׁאוֹל). This topic has often gone unnoticed in studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS). Even though a scholarly consensus has been reached about the existence of a dualistic post-mortem

(2) Milton’s poem (I, 34-39) vividly depicts the rebellion of Satan against the Almighty:

Th’ infernal Serpent; he it was whose guile,  
 Stirred up with envy and revenge, deceived  
 The mother of mankind, what time his pride  
 Had cast him out from heav’n, with all his host  
 Or rebel angels, by whose aid aspiring  
 To set himself in glory above his peers,  
 He trusted to have equaled the Most High,  
 If he opposed; and with ambitious aim  
 Against the throne and monarchy of God  
 Raised impious war in heav’n and battle proud  
 With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power  
 Hurl’d headlong flaming from the’ ethereal sky  
 With hideous ruin and combustion down  
 To bottomless perdition, there to dwell  
 In adamant chains and penal fire,  
 Who durst defy th’ Omnipotent to arms

Cited in K. Schöpflin, “Ein Blick in die Unterwelt,” TZ 58 (2002): 314.

(3) For the picture and its explication, see *Rome and the Vatican: Discover the Archaeology, Monuments and Churches of Rome* (Rome: Lozzi Roma S.a.s., 2001), 145-146.

(4) For a detailed analysis concerning the post-mortem states and the eschatological concepts available in the book of Luke, see O. Lehtipuu, *The Afterlife Imagery in Luke’s Story of the Rich Man and Lazarus* (NovT 123; Leiden: Brill, 2007); idem, “The Rich, the Poor, and the Promise of an Eschatological Reward in the Gospel of Luke,” in *Other Worlds and their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (JSJS 143; ed. T. Nicklas, J. Verheyden, E. M. M. Eynikel and F. García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 229-246.

judgment in several DSS, such that people await either reward or punishment after death, primary emphasis, as noted by Klawans, has been placed on the kinds of reward, whether in the form of physical resurrection or immortality of the soul, envisioned in these texts. (5) Puech suggests that the *Hodayot* at Qumran point to a corporeal resurrection after death, (6) whereas Nickelsburg presents a view similar to that of Kuhn, arguing that the *Hodayot* and other sectarian scrolls minimize the significance of physical death and are more concerned with the “ideas of continuity and present participation in eternal life.” (7) Collins briefly but helpfully deals with the DSS that consign the fate of the damned in the netherworld, but he does not discuss the theme specifically in relation to Sheol. (8) This neglect of the DSS’s perceptions of the post-mortem punishment is most recently remedied by Nebe’s article entitled “Scheol in den Schriften vom Toten Meer.” (9) After an extensive overview of the etymology, distribution and characteristics of Sheol in the DSS, Nebe insightfully draws attention to the causal connection between sin and death envisaged in 11Q5 XIX, the so-called “Plea for Deliverance.” Even though Nebe does summarily notice that one scroll (4Q491 frg. 10, II 17) depicts the fiery judgment of God reaching down to Sheol, (10) he does not observe that several other scrolls from Qumran begin to associate Sheol with fire even more closely. This paper thus fills the lacuna by elucidating the fiery nature of post-mortem punishments in the Sheol of the DSS.

(5) J. Klawans, *Josephus and the Theologies of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 93, speaks more generally about “scholarly discussions of the afterlife in ancient Judaism.”

(6) É. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future* (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 2:372-379; idem, “Immortality and Life after Death,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 512-520.

(7) G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 179-209; H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliern von Qumran* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966).

(8) J. J. Collins, “The Otherworld in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Other Worlds and their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (JSJS 143; ed. T. Nicklas, J. Verheyden, E. M. M. Eynikel and F. García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 95-116, esp. 102-105; idem, “Conceptions of Afterlife in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Lebendige Hoffnung—Ewiger Tod? !: Jenseitsvorstellungen im Hellenismus, Judentum und Christentum* (ed. R. Lux and U. Schnelle, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlags-Anstalt, 2007), 103-125.

(9) W. Nebe, “Scheol in den Schriften vom Toten Meer,” in *Sehnsucht nach der Hölle?: Höllen- und Unterweltsvorstellungen in Orient und Okzident*, (StOR 63; ed. J. Tubach; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 169-198.

(10) Nebe, “Scheol,” 181.

After a brief overview of the use of the term in the HB, it will be shown that the more watery Sheol in the HB stands in contrast to the fiery Sheol in several non-biblical Hebrew DSS (e.g. 1QM XIV, 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV and 4Q184 frg. 1). Rather than probing the *origins* of the fiery imagery, this article will mainly explore the literary *functions* of the fiery imagery. At the end, my conclusion is that the DSS not only contain an imagery of fiery Sheol, the relevant scrolls also attest an annihilating concept in the afterlife that creates tensions with Josephus' description of the Essene beliefs about the afterlife.

### I. WATERY SHEOL IN THE HB

If we try to find a reference to fire in the Sheol of the HB, we would be disappointed. Sheol is a uniquely Hebraic term to designate the abode of the dead. (11) In lieu of the imagery of fire, the HB often associates Sheol or the abode of the dead with the imagery of water. (12) Texts like Job 26:5-6 may suggest that the underworld is itself aqueous:

(11) Different theories concerning the origin of this word have been proposed. Some argue for a derivation from שאל "to ask," linking it to an original reference to necromancy (e.g. Nebe, "Scheol," 174). Others prefer a derivation from the root שאה "to lie desolate" with a suffixed ל (e.g. L. Köhler, "Alttestamentliche Wortforschung: Scheol," TZ 2 [1946]: 71-74). A connection to šu'aru, the underworld abode of Tammuz, has also been theorized (e.g. W. F. Albright "Mesopotamian Elements in Canaanite Eschatology," in *Oriental Studies Published in Commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary (1883-1923) of Paul Haupt as Director of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University Baltimore* [ed. C. Adler and A. Ember; Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1926], 143-154). Another hypothesis identifies the deity šu-wa-la in two Akkadian texts as an underworld deity called "Sheol" (e.g. J. C. de Moor, "Lovable Death in the Ancient Near East," UF 22 [1990]: 233-245). For an overview of these and other theories, see C. B. Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II and in the First Isaiah* (FAT 79; Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 176; L. Wächter, "שאל," TDOT 15:240-241.

(12) Interestingly, some Mesopotamian sources also envision a watery netherworld. Thus, in the Sumerian composition *Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld* (ca. 2100-2000 or 1700 B.C.E.), the abode of the dead is thought to be reached by a boat. Line 16 states: *En-ki kur-še<sub>3</sub> ba-u<sub>5</sub>-a-ba* (after the god Enki had set sail for the Netherworld). Similarly, in a neo-Assyrian amulet (8-7th century B.C.E.), the evil demon goddess Lamaštu was depicted as standing with her donkey in a boat, navigating the river of the underworld. For an accessible English translation of *Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld*, see A. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh: The Babylonian Epic Poem and Other Texts in Akkadian and Sumerian* (London: Penguin Books, 1999), 175-195. For the most recent examination of this composition, see A. Gadotti, "Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld" and the Sumerian *Gilgamesh Cycle* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014). For sources related to Lamaštu, see F. A. M. Wiggermann, "Lamaštu. Daughter of Anu. A Profile," in M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible: Its Mediterranean*

The Rephaim tremble under the waters and their inhabitants. (13)

Naked is Sheol before Him, and the Abaddon has no covering. (14)

The passage suggests that the waters house the departed spirits (Rephaim) and other inhabitants of the waters, and thus Sheol and Abaddon, as the abode of the dead, are located in the midst of the waters. (15) The imagery of watery Sheol is further reinforced by two Psalms that imply that the underworld is a place of mud or slime. In Ps 40:3, the psalmist rejoices in the deliverance “from the pit of destruction, out of the mud of mire (מַטִּיט הַיִּין).” (16) In Ps 69, the author sinks “in deep mire” (בֵּין מַצּוּלָה, v.3) and pleads for rescue “from the deep waters” (מִמַּעַמְקֵי מַיִם, v.15). (17) Ezek 31:15 mourns for the descent of the mighty nations into Sheol, and directly associates Sheol or the abyss with the rivers (נְהַרִּית). (18) In Jonah 2:3-7, the eponymous prophet “cried for help from the belly of Sheol,” and further associates his plight with the “deep” (מַעּוּלָה), with the “seas” (יָמִים), with the “river” (נְהַר), with “all your waves and your billows” (כָּל

*Setting* (Gronigen: Styx, 2000), 217-249; W. Farber, “ištu api ilâmma ezēzu ezzet : ein bedeutsames neues Lamaštu-Amulett,” in *Ana šadī Labnāni lū allik : Beiträge zu altorientalischen und mittelmeerischen Kulturen: Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig* (ed. B. Pongratz-Leisten, H. Kühne and P. Xella; Kevelaer: Butzon und Bercker, 1997), 115-128.

(13) The etymology of the Rephaim can be derived either from the root רָפָא “to heal,” thus J. C. de Moor, “Rapi’um—Rephaim,” *ZAW* 99 (1976): 340 or from the root רָפָה “to sink down, be weak,” thus M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, “Die ugaritischen Totengeister rpu(m) und die biblischen Rephaim,” *UF* 8 (1976): 45-52. In the HB, the Rephaim can refer to either heroes of old (Gen 14:5; 15:20; Deut 2:11; 3:11), the Philistine giants (1 Chr 20:4) or the inhabitants of the underworld (Isa 14:9; Ps 88:11; Prov 2:18). Cf. Hays, *Death*, 167-168.

(14) Abaddon is another term for the realm of the dead in the HB; cf. Job 26:6; Prov 15:11; 27:20 (in parallel with שָׂאוֹל); Job 28:22 (in parallel with מוֹת); Ps 88:12 (in parallel with קִבְר). It is probably derived from the root אָבַד, which means “to destroy,” hence the translation as a “place of destruction.” Cf. Hays, *Death*, 177.

(15) P. S. Johnston, *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament* (Downers Grove, Ill.: Intervarsity Press, 2002), 116-117, suggests to read vv. 5-6 as representing distinct ideas. His reason is that a watery underworld “would be exceptional in the ancient Near East.” Nonetheless, the watery underworld, as we have observed in n. 12, is indeed imaginable in the ancient Mesopotamian literature. Therefore, *contra* Johnston, we will read the two verses as closely related to each other.

(16) Johnston, *Shades*, 122.

(17) Johnston, *Shades*, 122.

(18) The possessive suffix attached to נְהַרִּית in this verse of Ezekiel is a third feminine singular. This likely refers to the preceding שָׂאוֹל “Sheol” or תְּהוֹם “abyss,” both of which can be of feminine gender (cf. Isa 14:9; 28:10 for שָׂאוֹל; Gen 49:25; Ps 36:7 for תְּהוֹם).

(משבריך וגליך), with “waters” (מים) and “abyss” (תהום). (19) Even though some argue that Sheol is only the fate of the wicked, Collins, Pinker and Hays rightly point out that a full-fledged distinction among human fates begins to emerge only in later texts such as Daniel. (20) In all the aforementioned biblical passages, little distinction is made between the wicked and the righteous, and so the Rephaim, the psalmist, the ancient rulers, and the prophet Jonah all need to encounter the watery Sheol in one way or another.

There are indeed references to fire in three biblical passages where שְׁאוֹל is mentioned, but these texts, contrary to common assumptions, do not envisage a fiery underworld. Deuteronomy 32:22, for instance, depicts that the blazing wrath of Yahweh “burns to the lowest part of Sheol,” “consumes the earth with its yield,” and “sets on fire the foundations of the mountains.” Upon closer inspection, the fire does not originate from Sheol, but rather comes from Yahweh and burns from on high. Proverb 30:15b-16 reads as follows: (21)

There are three things that will not be satisfied,  
Four that will not say, “Enough”:  
Sheol, and the barren womb,  
Earth that is never satisfied with water  
And fire that never says, “Enough.” (22)

One might be tempted to employ the phrase “is never satisfied with water” (לֹא שִׁבְעָה מִיָּם) to justify the dryness of Sheol, yet the feminine singular verb is more appropriately linked to the grammatical subject in the closest proximity—namely, the earth (אֶרֶץ). More

(19) D. Rudman, “The Use of Water Imagery in Descriptions of Sheol,” *ZAW* 113 (2001): 240-244.

(20) Ps 89:48 and Eccl 9:10 envision Sheol as the destiny of all; Gen 37:35; 42:38; 44:29, 31; Job 14:13; Ps 88:3; Isa 38:10 perceive Sheol as a threat to the righteous. Cf. Collins, “Otherworld,” 95; Hays, *Dead*, 177; A. Pinker, “Sheol,” *JBQ* 23 (1995): 168-179, esp. 175.

(21) To be noted, these two verses and the rest of chapter 30 in the LXX do not come after vv.1-14, but follow the Hebrew 24:34. See R. E. Murphy, *Proverbs* (WBC 22; Nashville: Nelson, 2000).

(22) The numerical sayings in the form of  $x$  and  $x+1$  can be found in passages such as Exod 20:5; Deut 17:6; Judg 5:30; 2 Kgs 9:32; Isa 17:6; Job 5:19; 33:14, 29; Prov 6:16. W. M. W. Roth, “Numerical Sequence  $x/x+1$  in the Old Testament,” *VT* 12 (1962): 300-311, demonstrates that this enumerating pattern is widespread both within the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near Eastern literature. On this rhetorical pattern especially in the book of Job, see A. E. Steinmann, “The Graded Numerical Sayings in Job,” in: *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday* (ed. A. B. Beck, A. H. Bartelt, C. A. Franks, and P. R. Rabbe; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995), 288-297.

reasonably, the text cites Sheol, barren womb, earth and fire as four parallel examples of greed: Sheol is never satisfied with the number of dead, (23) a barren womb always yearns for more children, earth drinks all water that is rained upon it, and fire craves for more wood to keep it burning. All these examples are juxtaposed in parallel in order to explicate the abstract concept of greed, and this juxtaposition does not indicate a direct relationship between Sheol and fire. In yet another passage (Song 8:6), the jealousy (קנאה) related to love (אהבה) is as severe or difficult to overcome as Sheol (שאול). The text goes on with an enigmatic sentence: "Its flashes are flashes of fire, a vehement flame." It remains unclear if the third feminine singular suffix in this last sentence is related to אהבה, קנאה, or שאול, all of which are feminine nouns. More plausibly, the passage has in mind the kind of love between the couple that is as insurmountable as death or Sheol, and that is powerful like vehement flashes of fire. (24) In light of this, the fire in the passage does not serve to characterize Sheol, but to concretize the power of love. To be noted, the HB does employ the imagery of fire in relation to the divine punishments of sinners; (25) fire is also associated with Gehenna or the Valley of Hinnom, where the idolatrous practice of child sacrifices offered to Moloch during the days of Ahaz and Mannaseh took place; (26) fire is even part of the eschatological judgment in several prophetic traditions. (27) Nonetheless, all these instances of fiery imagery are never used to characterize Sheol. All in all, Sheol in the HB remains a largely aqueous subterranean territory.

(23) Cf. the insatiable swallowing of Sheol in Num 16:28-30; Isa 5:14; Prov 27:20; Hab 2:5.

(24) J. B. Burns, "The Mythology of Death in the Old Testament," *SJT* 26 (1973): 327-340, esp. 336: "It may be that the verses merely indicate that love is very strong and passion very cruel; Death and Sheol being used as superlatives." Some such as Pinker, "Sheol," 174, find a reference to the Canaanite deity Mot in v. 6.

(25) Gen 19:24; Lev 10:2; Num 11:1; 2 Kgs 1:10. For the motif of fire in the HB, see Lehtipuu, *Afterlife*, 213. For the motif of fire in early Jewish literature, see L. T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 453.

(26) Jer 7:31; 19:1-5; 32:35; cf. 2 Kgs 16:3; 21:6. In the NT, the Greek translation appears eleven times, concentrating in the synoptic gospels (Matt 5:22, 29, 30; 10:28; 18:9; 23:15, 33; Mark 9:43, 45, 47). There, the term then begins to denote a place of final punishment, associated often with fire: "Gehenna of fire" (τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός, Matt 18:9); "into Gehenna, into the unquenchable fire" (εἰς τὴν γέενναν, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον, Mark 9:43); and "into hell, where their worm does not die, and the fire is not quenched" (εἰς τὴν γέενναν, ὅπου ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται, Mark 9:47-48). See Lehtipuu, *Afterlife*, 271-275; H. Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics," *BSac* 149 (1992): 324-337, esp. 335.

(27) Isa 66:15, 24; Joel 2:3; Mal 3:19; Ezek 38:22; 39:6.



## II. THE EMERGENCE OF FIERY SHEOL IN THE DSS

It is therefore more interesting to observe an emergence of the imagery of a fiery Sheol in several DSS. It must be stressed at the outset that Sheol in the non-biblical Hebrew DSS is not completely different from Sheol in the HB. (28) There are points of continuity between the two groups of texts. As in the HB, Sheol in the DSS preserves some general features as a grave-like place of silence and darkness, (29) as a symbol of pain, lament and distress. (30) Several texts also associate Sheol with the aquatic imagery found in the HB. As such, 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI 32 characterizes Sheol by mud. In 4Q437 frg. 2 I 11, the image of drowning taken from Ps 69:3, 15-16 is juxtaposed directly with Sheol. But one of the most distinctive characteristics of Sheol from the Dead Sea is the presence of a cosmic fire, as attested in the *War Scroll*, in the *Hodayot*, and in the *Wiles of a Wicked Woman*.

1QM XIV 17-18, part of an eschatological prayer of the *War Scroll*, (31) is likely to contain materials that correspond to 4Q491 frgs. 8-10 I 15. (32) In the more fully preserved 4Q491, it can clearly

(28) The noun שְׁאוֹל appears 23 times in the Hebrew biblical manuscripts from the Dead Sea, 25 times in the non-biblical Qumran Hebrew texts (1QpHab VIII 4; 1QM XIV 18; 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV 13; XI 9,16,19; XIV 17; XVI 28; XVII 4; XVIII 34; 4Q162 II 5; 4Q184 frg. 1 10; 4Q200 frg. 6 6; 4Q286 frg. 7, II 9 [dubious reconstruction]; 4Q381 frgs. 10-11 5; 4Q426 frg. 5 1; frg. 8 3; 4Q428 frg. 18 4; 4Q432 frg. 5 4; 4Q437 frg. 2 I 11; 4Q491 frg. 8-10, I 15; 4Q491 frg. 10 II 17; 5Q16 frg. 1 4; 11Q5 XIX 10; 11Q11 V 9), and once in Aramaic non-biblical texts from Qumran (11Q10 I 2). Corresponding to the form found in the HB, the term is used without a definite article. This might indicate that it is used as a proper noun. For the distribution of this Hebrew noun, see M. Abegg (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance. Vol. 1: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 2:705.

(29) דְּוִמָּה in 4Q184 frg. 1 7. Cf. Ps 94:17; 115:17, where דְּוִמָּה becomes another designation for the underworld. Sheol in 11Q11 V 9, is also a place where “no light penetrates.” Cf. Job 10:21; 17:13; 18:18; Ps 88:13.

(30) 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI 9; XVI 28, XVII 4; XVIII 34. Cf. Gen 42:38; 44:39, 31, where the descent into Sheol is related to “sorrow” (יָגוֹן); Ps 116:3, where “terrors” (מַצְרִים) are assigned to Sheol.

(31) The *War Scroll* (1QM) describes various aspects of an eschatological battle between “the sons of light” and “the sons of darkness,” and it is dated paleographically between the late first century B.C.E. and the early first century C.E. For editions of 1QM, see J. Duhaime, “War Scroll,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Vol. 2: Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 80-203; F. García-Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1:112-144 (hereafter DSSSE).

(32) 4Q491, along with 4Q492-497, bears similar content to 1QM, but the relationship among these texts remains unclear. For a more detailed description and discussion of this group of texts, see C. H. Hunzinger, “Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milhamā aus Höhle 4 von Qumrān,” *ZAW* 69 (1957): 131-151; J. Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (London: T&T Clark, 2004),

be seen that the God of gods is urged to rise up and impose the complete punishment on the “sons of darkness” through “a fire burning in the dark places of Abaddon, in the places of destruction of Sheol.” As such, the fire is located directly in Sheol, burning for eternity (עולמים). The following table illustrates the more fragmented 1QM XIV in light of the more fully preserved 4Q491 frgs. 8-10:

1QM XIV 16-18	4Q491 frgs. 8-10, I 13b-15
(33) רומה רומה אל אלים והנשא בעון [...] (34) [כנ]ל[ב]ני חושך ואור גודלכה י. [...] (35) [...] ש[אול] תוקד לשרפ[ת]. [...] 16 Rise up, rise up, Oh God of gods, and raise with pow[er, ...] 17 [al]l the [s]ons of darkness, and may your great light [...] 18 [...] Shejol may it burn to consume [...]	13 [...]רומה רומה אל אלים והנשא בעון מלך המלכים [...] ש[מתה] על [...]מ[עליכה] יפוצו כול בני חושך ואור גודל[כה] י. [...]אלים ואנשים [...]אש בן[ערת] במחשכי עב[ו]נים באבדו[י] שאל[תוקד] לשרפת עולמים [...] פ[ושעים] 13b [...]Rise up, rise up, Oh God of gods, and raise with power, King of ki[ngs]! [...] you have [pl]aced over 14 [...] may scatter [from] before you all the sons of darkness, and [may your] great light [...]god[s] and men 15 [...] a fire bu[rning] in the dark places of Abaddon, in the places of destruction of Sheol may it bu[rn] to consume everlasting [...] the s[inner]s

Both texts, set in a larger framework about the eschatological battle between the “sons of light” and the “sons of darkness,” (36) do not envision the fire to be tormenting the defeated enemies forever, rather the texts employ the verb “to burn completely” (שרף, 1QM XIV 18; 4Q491 frgs. 8-10 I 15). Within the surrounding passages, there is no

12-44; B. Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 16-41; idem, “Re-Imagining the Eschatological War—4Q285/11Q14,” in “Go Out and Study the Land” (*Judges 18:2*): *Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel* (ed. A. Maeir; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 197-212.

(33) To fill in the lacuna of 1QM, cf. 4Q491 frgs. 8-10 I 13-14.

(34) To fill in the lacuna, cf. 4Q491 frgs. 8-10 I 14-15a.

(35) To fill in the lacuna, cf. 4Q491 frgs. 8-10 I 15b-16.

(36) 1QM I 1-2 foretells the attack launched by “the sons of light” (בני אור) against “the lot of the sons of darkness (בני חושך), against the army of Belial, against the band of Edom and of Moab and of the sons of Ammon and [...] Philistia, and against the bands of the Kittim of Ashur, who are being helped by the violators of the covenant.” Similarly, 4Q491 envisions an eschatological destruction of “the assembly of na[tions]” (קהל גו[א]ים), frgs. 9-10 I 3, “all the wicked nations” (כול גווי רשעה) (l. 5), and “those high in stature” (רומי קומה) (l. 8).

mention of the cries or laments of the victims. As Davies comments on the *War Scroll*, “the emphasis is on the eternal glory of Israel (however redefined) and the victory of Israel’s champion Michael.” (37) This silence about the fate of evil forces renders a possibility that the perpetual fire in Sheol serves to consume the targeted people wholly without necessarily toasting and torturing them forever.

In addition to the *War Scroll*, one column from the *Hodayot* (1QH<sup>a</sup> IV 25-26a) also presents a fiery Sheol: (38)

1QH <sup>a</sup> IV 25-26a	Deut 32:22
<p>25 [מוסדי הרים ואש [ב]קעה  בשאל תחתיה ואת הנן] [ במשפטך  26 [תה לעבדיך באמונה [ל]היות  זרעם לפניך כול הימים  25 [ foundations of  mountains and fire [bu]rsts forth in  the depths of Sheol, and hnw[ ] by  your regulations.  26a [ ]th for those who serve you  loyally, [so that] their posterity [may]  be before you for all the days.</p>	<p>כי אש קדחה באפי ותיקד עד שאול תחתית  ותאכל ארץ ויבלה ותלהט מוסדי הרים  For a fire is kindled in My anger and  burns to the lowest part of Sheol, and  consumes the earth with its yield, and  sets on fire foundations of mountains</p>

This particular section from the *Hodayot* displays strong linguistic parallels with the Song of Moses in Deut 32:22. Key words such as *שאל*, *אש*, and *מוסדי הרים* are found in both texts. “The depths/lowest part of Sheol” and “foundations of mountains” form a *parallelismus membrorum* in both texts and thus indicate the subterranean location of Sheol. (39) Also, the subterranean region in both texts is burned with “fire” (*אש*).

(37) P. Davies, “Death, Resurrection, and Life after Death in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 4: Death, Life after Death, Resurrection and the World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity* (HO 1: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 49; ed. A. J. Avery-Peck and J. Neusner, Leiden: Brill, 2000), 189-211.

(38) The 1QH<sup>a</sup> manuscript is the largest and most complete copy of the *Hodayot*. It contains about thirty poems similar to the biblical psalms, and is dated paleographically to around 30-31 B.C.E. Other fragments, including 1Q35/1QH<sup>b</sup> and 4Q427-432/4QH<sup>a-f</sup>, contain texts that overlap with 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Some copies of the *Hodayot* from Cave 4 can be dated as early as 100-75 B.C.E. Editions of this group of texts include E. L. Sukenik (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, Jerusalem 1955 (old numbering of columns and lines); DSSSE 1:147-203 (interim numbering of columns and lines) and H. Stegemann, E. Schuller, and C. A. Newsom, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> with incorporation of 1QHodayot<sup>b</sup> and 4QHodayot<sup>a-f</sup>* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009) (new numbering of columns and lines). This article follows the numbering of columns and lines of the *Hodayot* in DJD 40.

(39) Interestingly, the Sumerian word *KUR*, which has the basic meaning of “mountains” can also convey the meanings of “netherworld” and “foreign country.”

Despite the similarities, commentators often do not notice that there is one significant difference, expressed through the variant uses of the prepositions. (40) On the one hand, the fire in this section of the *Hodayot* seems to originate from Sheol, since it burns at (ב) the base of Sheol. As is often the case with the DSS, the fragmentary nature of this text prevents us from understanding all of its details, but the general contour of lines 25-26 seems to indicate that this fire, which is present directly in Sheol, serves as the most direct agent of destruction for those people who have transgressed a set of specific standards (משפטים). (41) On the other hand, the fire in Deut 32:22 does not seem to originate from Sheol, but is presented as resulting from Yahweh's wrath and burns until (עד) Sheol. Therefore, the fire of Yahweh in Deut 32:22 is capable of not only reaching Sheol (שואל), but also consuming the earth (ארץ) with its entire yield. The presence of fire until (עד) Sheol, rather than in (ב) Sheol, does not serve as the tool of divine judgment, but rather highlights the extensive scope of Yahweh's wrath poured out on the unfaithful people in Deuteronomy. (42) The text poses a question: If God's wrath can burn until Sheol, how can the idolaters expect to escape the divine act of judgment? In short, the

In *eršemma of Ninhursaga*, a Sumerian text from the Old Babylonian period, the netherworld is envisaged "at the foot of the mountain" (*kur-úr-ra*). In another Sumerian text, *Edina-usagake*, the netherworld is "at the edge of the mountain" (*gaba-kur-ra*). For transcriptions, translations and explications of these two Sumerian texts, see D. Katz, *The Image of the Netherworld in the Sumerian Sources* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2003), 19-22, 23-25, 47-49, 67. See also pp. 65-91 for her comprehensive analyses of how *KUR* "mountains" is used as a compound noun to describe various parts of the netherworld in the Sumerian sources. Her view is followed by and summarized in S. Winkelmann, "Wovor fürchtet Gilgamesch? Betrachtungen zum frühen mesopotamischen Unterweltsverständnis," in *Sehnsucht nach der Hölle? Höllen- und Unterweltsvorstellungen in Orient und Okzident* (StOR 63; ed. J. Tubach; Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2013), 249-269, esp. 260.

(40) The link to Deut 32:22 is noted only briefly in S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 245, 312; M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (STDJ 3; Leiden: Brill, 1961), 188, n. 14. Articles written on IQH<sup>a</sup> IV are also relatively few in comparison to the other columns, see the bibliography list in E. M. Schuller and L. Ditommaso, "A Bibliography of the *Hodayot*, 1948-1960," *DSD* 4 (1997): 55-101, esp. 63.

(41) There are at least three references to the משפט in this short fragmented passage of seven lines (ll. 22, 23, 25). One reference is also made to the words of Yahweh conveyed to Moses (l. 24).

(42) The contrast in this Song of Moses is not an ethical dualism that contrasts Yahweh's people with their internal/external enemies, but a theological dualism, which, in the words of MacDonald, contrasts "the faithfulness of Yahweh and the unfaithfulness of Israel" (*Deuteronomy and the Meaning of "Monotheism"* (2nd ed.; FAT II/I; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 148. For the meaning of the "theological or prophetic dualism," see J. G. Gammie, "Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature," *JBL* 93 (1974): 358.

fire in Deut 32:22 seems to burn from on high, whereas 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV localizes the fire only at the bottom of Sheol.

The prominent presence of fire in Sheol is perhaps most evident in one of the wisdom texts at Qumran—the *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* (4Q184). (43) Many propose different solutions to the identity of the Wicked Woman in 4Q184, either as historical enemies of the sectarian community, (44) as a demonic figure, (45) or as a general symbol of evil, (46) but all agree that she is literarily comparable to the Strange Woman (אשה זרה) and Dame Folly (אשת כסילות) in Prov 1-9. (47) One of the many similarities upon comparison is that the characters in both groups of texts are related to the abode of the dead in highly similar ways:

(43) For a list of wisdom texts at Qumran, see A. Lange, “Die Weisheit aus Qumran,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (BETL 159; eds. C. Hempel, A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 3-30, esp. 4. For his discussion on 4Q184 specifically, see pp. 9-10. Editions of 4Q184 can be found in J. Allegro (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.I* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 82-85; *DSSSE* 1:376-377. See also the review of Allegro’s edition in J. Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V des ‘Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan’”, *RevQ* 7 (1970): 163-276. The text is considered to be composed in either the second or first centuries B.C.E. See M. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (VTSup 116; Leiden: Brill 2007), 106.

(44) J. M. Allegro, “Wiles of the Wicked Woman: A Sapiential Work from Qumran’s Fourth Cave,” *PEQ* 96 (1964): 53-55, identifies the wicked woman in 4Q184 as Rome; H. Burgmann, “The Wicked Woman: Der Makkabäer Simon,” *RevQ* 8 (1974): 323-359, considers the wicked woman as a veiled allusion to Simon the Maccabee; J. Maier, “Wiles of the Wicked Woman,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2:976, suggests that the Qumran text targets “the same people who in other texts appear as followers of the ‘man (or Preacher) of Lies’ ” (cf. “the Man of the Lie” [איש הכזב] in 1QpHab II 1-2).

(45) J. M. Baumgarten, “On the Nature of the Seductress in 4Q184,” *RevQ* 15 (1991-1992): 133-143; S. W. Crawford, “Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 355-366; B. G. Wright, “Wisdom and Women at Qumran,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 240-261.

(46) R. D. Moore, “Personification of the Seduction of Evil: ‘The Wiles of the Wicked Woman,’” *RevQ* 10 (1981): 505-519, and subsequently J. Kampen, *Wisdom Literature* (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls 14; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2011), 235, move away from the historical interpretations, and understand the wicked woman in 4Q184 more generally and abstractly as a device to symbolize evil or to promote group cohesion.

(47) Despite their differences in detail, all of the aforementioned scholars observe the resemblances of 4Q184 with Proverbs. They note, for examples, how both texts employ the root ארב to describe a woman lying in wait for victims (Prov 7:12; 4Q184 frg. 1 11), how both texts locate the women in the “squares” (רהובות) of a city (Prov 7:12; 4Q184 frg. 1 12), and how both texts describe the women ensnaring the victims by “smooth words” (אמרייה החליקה), Prov 7:5; חלקות, 4Q184 frg. 1 17) See the extensive bibliography and discussion of parallels in Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 105, 107-108.

4Q184 frg. 1 6-11a	Prov 1-9
<p>6 מלונותיה משכבי חושך ובאישי ליל[ה] א[שלו]תיה (48) ממוסדי אפלות</p> <p>7 תאהל שבת ותשכון באהלי דומה בתוך מוקדי עולם ואין נחלתה בתוך (49) בכול</p> <p>8 מאירי {..} נונה והיא ראשית כול דרכי עול היו הוה לכול נוחליה ושדדה לכ[ול]</p> <p>9 תומכי בה כיא דרכיה דרכי מות ואורחותיה שבלי חטאת מענלותיה משנות</p> <p>10 עול ונתיבו[ת]יה אשמות פשע שעריה שערי מות בפתח ביתה תצעד שאו[ל]</p> <p>11 כ[ו]ל[ן] באיה בל [ישכון וכול נוחליה ירדו שחת ...</p> <p>6 Her lodgings are beds of darkness and in the middle of the nigh[t] is her [te]nts. In the foundations of gloom</p> <p>7 she takes a dwelling, and she resides in the tents of silence, in the midst of everlasting burnings. Her inheritance is not among all</p> <p>8 those who shine {..} brightly. She is the beginning of all the ways of iniquity. Woe comes to all who possess her, she brings devastation to a[ll]</p> <p>9 who grasp hold of her, for her paths are paths of death and her roads are tracks of sin. Her trails lead astray to</p> <p>10 iniquity, and her pathways to the guilty acts of transgression. Her gates are the gates of death, in the entrance to her house she steps into <b>Sheo[!]</b>.</p> <p>11a A[!l] [those who go to her will not] return, and all those who inherit her will descend to destruction...</p>	<p>Prov 2:8-9</p> <p>כי שחת אל מות ביתה ואל רפאים מענלתיה כל באיה לא ישכון ולא ישיגו ארחות חיים For her house sinks down to death, and her tracks lead to Rephaim</p> <p>None who go to her return again, nor do they reach the paths of life</p> <p>Prov 5:5-6</p> <p>רגליה יורדות מות שאול צעדיה יתמכו ארח חיים פן תפלט נעו מגלתיה יתמכו Her feet go down to death, her steps lay hold of <b>Sheol</b></p> <p>She does not ponder the path of life, her ways are unstable and she does not know it.</p> <p>Prov 7:27</p> <p>דרכי שאול ביתה ירדות אל חדרי מות Her house is the way to <b>Sheol</b>, descending to the chambers of death.</p> <p>Prov 9:18</p> <p>ולא תדע כי רפאים שם בעמקי שאול קראיה But he does not know that the dead are there, that her guests are in the depths of <b>Sheol</b>.</p>

(48) *Contra Allegro*, *Qumran Cave 4.I*, 82; Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 243; Moore, "Personification," 514, which reconstruct the term as "her dominions" (cf. Ps 136:9). We follow Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 115, n. 49; *DSSSE* 1:376, by reconstructing the word as אשלותיה "her tents," since this renders a better parallelism with "her lodgings" (מלונותיה).

(49) To obtain a neat bicolae, J. Carmignac, "Poème allégorique sur la secte rivale," *RevQ* 5 (1965): 361-374, transposes the word נחלתה to the position before the first בתוך and deletes the second בתוך. This thus gives the following translation: "Amid everlasting fire is her inheritance, not among those who shine brightly" (מוקדי עולם ואין) (בכול מאורי נונה). This emendation is cited and discussed in E. J. C. Tigchelaar, "The Poetry of the Wiles of the Wicked Woman," *RevQ* 25 (2012): 621-634, esp. 626-627.

As seen, both groups of the texts make an association between the women and Sheol. Thus, Proverbs asserts that the tracks of the Strange Woman, in contrast to the “paths of life” (2:19, אֲרֻחוֹת חַיִּים) and the “paths of the righteous” (2:20, אֲרֻחוֹת צְדִיקִים), “lead to the dead” (2:18, אֶל רְפָאִים). “Her steps lay hold of Sheol” (5:5, שְׂאוֹל צַעְדֶּיהָ). Proverbs further characterizes the abode of the woman as on “the way to Sheol” (7:27, דְּרָכֵי שְׂאוֹל), descending “to the chambers of death” (7:27, אֶל חֲדָרֵי מוֹת). In a similar vein, the paths of the Wicked Woman in 4Q184 frg. 1 are “ways of wickedness” (l. 8, דְּרָכֵי עוֹל), “paths of death” (l. 9, דְּרָכֵי מוֹת) and “tracks to sin” (l. 9, שְׁבִילֵי חַטָּאת). Her house is located directly in Sheol, surrounded by “the gates of death” (l. 10, שְׁעָרֵי מוֹת), (50) and immediately when she enters her abode, “she steps into Sheol” (l. 10). (51) Subsequently, both groups of texts highlight a strong causal relation between sin and death by narrating the fates of the women’s prey, such that all who follow the women are brought to the path of death and destruction. The ones trailing behind the Strange Woman “will not return” (Prov 2:19, כָּל בָּאִיהָ, לֹא יָשׁוּבוּן), and those who listen to the Dame Folly are in the “depths of Sheol” (9:18, בְּעֵמֶקֶי שְׂאוֹל). Likewise, the followers of the Wicked Woman in 4Q184 frg. 1 “will not return” (l. 11, כָּל־לֵן בָּאִיהָ בֵּל יִשׁוּבוּן), and all who possess her “will descend to destruction” (l. 11, יִרְדּוּ שָׁחַת).

(50) In Ps 9:14, the “gates of death” (שְׁעָרֵי מוֹת) seem to refer to Sheol. Cf. Ps 107:18; Job 38:17; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV 25-26. Noted by Goff, “Hellish Woman: The Strange Woman of Septuagint Proverbs and 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184),” *JSJ* 39 (2008): 20-45, esp. 35, n. 55.

(51) We follow the translation of line 10 in Moore, “Personification,” 508; Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 238, by considering the Wicked Woman as the grammatical subject of the Hebrew verb תַּצְעֵד. To be noted, Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4.I*, 83, links Sheol in line 10 to the next sentence in line 11: “To Sheol a[l]l [...] will return.” However, as many others (e.g. Baumgarten, “The Seductress,” 141) suggest, the blank in line 11 should be reconstructed as “a[l]l [those who go to her will not] return,” and this reconstruction offers a better parallel with Prov 2:19 and thus, *contra* Allegro, Sheol in this context is more appropriately related to the preceding sentence in line 10. Alternatively, *DSSSE* 1:377, translates the last clause in line 10 as “in the entrance to her house Sheo[l] proceeds” and thus renders Sheol as the grammatical subject of the verb תַּצְעֵד. In other words, *DSSSE*’s translation personifies Sheol as a woman with a feminine verb תַּצְעֵד. This personification of Sheol is indeed possible, given that there is another case of the feminine personification of Sheol in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XII 10-11, which differs from the corresponding text in the HB by attributing the third person feminine singular verbal forms (הָקִימָהּ and עָרָהּ, רְנוּהָ) to שְׂאוֹל (cf. M. von Nordheim-Diehl, “Wer herrscht in der Schoel? Eine Untersuchung zu Jes 14,9,” *BN* 143 [2009] 81-91). Nonetheless, the protagonist in 4Q184 remains the wicked woman, and thus, *contra* the translation in *DSSSE*, the verb תַּצְעֵד characterizes not Sheol, but the Wicked Woman. On the possibility that this sentence in line 10 represents “a redactional layer in the poem,” see Tigchelaar, “Poetry,” 627-628.



Despite the similarities, the description of the abode of the woman in 4Q184 gains a more sinister tone than that found in Proverbs. (52) Most important for our interest is the presence of a cosmic fire in the netherworld of 4Q184. Proverbs does not make any reference to a cosmic fire in regard to the dwelling place of the Strange Woman, instead her room is depicted exotically, being decorated with “coloured linens of Egypt,” “with myrrh, aloes and cinnamon” (7:16-17). (53) By contrast, the Wicked Woman in 4Q184 has her “beds” and “tents” in Sheol (l. 5), and her dwelling is “in the midst of everlasting burnings” (l. 7). (54) This netherworld inhabited by the wicked woman in 4Q184 is further characterized by no less than five different expressions related to darkness: *אִישֵׁי לַיְלָה* (l. 6), *מוֹסְדֵי חוּשֶׁךְ* (l. 4), *נֹשֶׁף* (l. 5), *מִשְׁכְּבֵי חוּשֶׁךְ* (l. 6) and *מוֹסְדֵי אַפְלוּת* (l. 6). (55) Similar expressions appear less frequently in Proverbs, but occur only in the portrait of the Strange Woman, who wanders “in the twilight (*נֹשֶׁף*), in the evening, in the middle of the night and gloom (9:7) “(*אִישֶׁן לַיְלָה וְאַפְלָה*). (56) What is noteworthy is that there is no description of what will happen in this blazing Sheol with the arrival of the victims of the Wicked Woman in 4Q184 frg. 1, only that those who go there “will not return” (l. 11). Given that this eternal flame of fire is accompanied by “silence” (*דוּמָה*, l. 6), “gloom” (*אַפְלוּת*, l. 7) and inactivity, it is my conjecture that the fire in the netherworld probably consumes every person who follows the wicked woman.

To summarize the analyses so far, all the foregoing Qumran texts attest an imagery of Sheol that emerges to be fiery (1QM IV; 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV; 4Q184 frg. 1). This picture is set in contrast to the biblical texts that often do not give a clear picture of a fiery Sheol, but delineate a

(52) 4Q184, more frequent than Proverbs, possesses no less than eleven allusions to the netherworld in the small fragment of about seventeen lines: *שַׁחַת* appears three times (ll. 5, 11), *שׁוֹחַ/שׁוּחָה* twice (ll. 3, 17), *מוֹת* twice (ll. 9, 10), *בוֹר*, *דוּמָה*, *בּוֹר*, *שׂאֵל* each once (ll. 6, 7, 10) (Noted by Baumgarten, “The Seductress,” 139). On the intensification of the theme of death and darkness in 4Q184, see Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 111-116. Also, Crawford remarks that the woman of 4Q184 “appears to be more cosmic in scope than the simple ‘loose woman’ of Proverbs 1-9,” and she considers the woman as “a chthonic night demon.” (“Lady Wisdom,” 360)

(53) Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 109, associates this decoration of the chamber with the Song of Songs.

(54) *עוֹלָם מוֹקֵדִי עוֹלָם* appears also in Isa 33:14, in the context of the punishment of the sinners. The imagery of a fire in darkness appears more generally in Exod 13:21-22 (“God, who is a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night”) and in Deut 5:22 (“These words the Lord spoke to all your assembly at the mountain from the midst of the fire, of the cloud and of the thick gloom, with a great voice”)

(55) Baumgarten, “The Seductress,” 141.

(56) Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 114-115.

watery Sheol (e.g. Job 26:5-6; Ps 40:3; 69:3; Ezek 31:15; Jonah 2:3-7). Even when fire appears in a biblical passage where Sheol is mentioned, the flame is not considered as an integral part of or originating from Sheol itself (e.g. Deut 32:22; Prov 30:16; Song 8:6). With this assessment in mind, it is appropriate for us at this point to examine more of the literary functions of this fiery Sheol within the DSS.

### III. THE LITERARY FUNCTIONS OF FIERY SHEOL IN THE DSS

In general, the fire in the Qumranite Sheol serves a punitive function. This belief in post-mortem punishment is reflected by the fact that the fiery Sheol is reserved especially for the unrighteous and the wicked in the Qumran texts. As mentioned, Sheol in the HB is not necessarily a fate assigned to the wicked only. (57) Levenson does envisage Sheol in the HB specifically as “the continuation of the gloomy circumstances of the [unblessed] individual’s death,” (58) but he does not deny that Sheol in some parts of the HB could be the inescapable fate of all humanity (esp. Ps 89:48; Eccl 9:10). (59) Even if the HB does envisage Sheol predominantly as the extension of the unfulfilled life, its depictions are comparatively mute in light of the aforementioned Qumran texts, which go to extremes by portraying fiery Sheol as reserved solely for the damned.

Hence, the blazing Sheol in the *War Scroll* and 4Q491 becomes the fate of the “sons of darkness” (בְּנֵי חוֹשֶׁךְ). (60) At the beginning of the *War Scroll*, the “sons of darkness” are listed in parallel with the army of Belial, the bands of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, the Kittim of Assyria and the “violators of the covenant” (1QM I 2). (61) All these people are pitched in a war against the “sons of light” (בְּנֵי אֹר), who probably refer to the Qumran community members and probably to those who, according to Schultz, though not part of the sectarian movement, remain faithful to God. By characterizing the elect and the damned in terms of “light” and “darkness,” the enemies of the community are demonized in cosmic terms. (62) The punitive function of

(57) See n. 20.

(58) J. D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 78, challenges the monolithic notion to view all biblical passages about Sheol as reflecting the destiny of all. His view is also endorsed by Klawans, *Josephus*, 97.

(59) Levenson, *Resurrection*, 245-246, n.26.

(60) 1QM XIV 17; 4Q491 frgs. 8-10 I 15.

(61) It has been suggested that the list of enemies are inspired by biblical passages such as Dan 11 and Isa 11:14. See Schultz, *War Scroll*, 125-126.

(62) This is characterized by Gammie as cosmic dualism: “i.e., that the world (cosmos) is divided into two opposing forces of good and evil, darkness and light, as in Zoroastrianism” (“Dualism, 357).

Sheol is also hinted at in one column of the *Hodayot* (1QH<sup>a</sup> IV). Even though lines 25-26 of the column are fragmentary, but they likely indicate a dualistic contrast between those who [violate] God's regulations and those who serve him loyally. (63) Such an ethical dualism, which is common in several sectarian literature, (64) suggests that the fiery punishment is especially reserved for the former, whose fates are set in contrast to the latter. When the hymnist praises God for purifying him from "offence," "iniquity" and "sin," it also means that Sheol becomes the place housing the impure and those guilty of sins and offences. (65) In the *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* (4Q184 frg. 1), fiery Sheol is prepared for those who originally adhere to "commandment" (מצוה) and "statute" (חוק, ll. 14-15), (66) but who subsequently succumb to the temptation of the Wicked Woman. Unlike the Strange Woman/Dame Folly in Proverbs whose victims are the "naïve" (פתאים) and those "without sense" (61:9 ; 7:7) (חסר לב), (67) the Wicked Woman in 4Q184 target specifically on elite individuals who are the "just ma[n]" (איש צדק, ll. 13-14), the "[n]oble man" (איש עצום, l. 14), "the upright" (ישרים, l. 14), the "righteous elect" (בחרירי צדק, l. 14) and "those who walk uprightly" (הולכי ישר, l. 15). (68) The dwelling of the Wicked Woman "in the midst of everlasting burnings" (l. 7) becomes the fate of all these men who have strayed from the ordinance. This fate is set in contrast with the fate of "those who shine brightly" (ll. 7-8), the imagery of which, according to Goff, "suggests

(63) Gammie helpfully characterizes this division of human beings into two opposing groups, namely the righteous and the wicked, as "ethical dualism." This type of dualism, according to him, is prominent in both the biblical sapiential literature and later apocalyptic writings ("Dualism," 357, 372-385).

(64) 1QM, for instance, envisions "peace and blessing, glory and joy, and length of days for all the sons of light" (I 9), whereas it reserves the "everlasting destruction for all the lot of Belial" (I 5). Likewise, in 1QS, the "sons of light" will enjoy "healing, plentiful peace in a long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, eternal enjoyment with endless life, and a crown of glory with majestic raiment in eternal light" (IV 7-8), whereas the "sons of darkness" will suffer "eternal damnation by the scorching wrath of the God of revenges, permanent terror and endless shame with the humiliation of destruction by the fire of the dark regions" (IV 12-13). For a discussion of the fates of the righteous and ungodly in the *Hodayot*, see Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 290-293.

(65) Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI 20ff, where the purification from sin is equated with the deliverance from the pit.

(66) Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 34, considers this as a reference to "observance of the Torah or even of the movement's rules." Cf. Lange, "Weisheitstexte," 9.

(67) Wright, "Wisdom," 244; Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 116.

(68) It is interesting that the end of the text generalizes the victims of the Wicked Woman to all "sons of man" (בני איש, l. 17), and so all can fall prey to the Wicked Woman. Cf. Wright, "Wisdom," 245.

a form of astral immortality for the righteous after death, in a manner similar to Dan 12:3 and *1 En.* 104:2-6.” (69) Central to all the above fragments from Qumran is thus a mixture of both cosmic and ethical dualisms, which sharply differentiates between light/the righteous who keep the precepts and darkness/the wicked who stray from paths of justices. The punitive fire in the Qumranite Sheol await the latter group of people.

More specifically, the flame in the Qumranite Sheol serves the punitive function by annihilating the wicked. As seen above, the Qumran texts we have surveyed perceive the human problem less as persecution and oppression, but more as the dangers of impurity and temptations of evil spirits who come in the form of either Belial or the Wicked Woman dwelling in Sheol. (70) The solution to this human problem is the total elimination of all spirits of perversity. As noted in the previous section, the fire in Sheol consumes (שרף) everything (1QM XIV 18), and the abode of the dead is characterized by silence (דומה, 4Q184, frg. 1 7). Different from the Enochic writings that envisage a tormenting flame accompanied by “a voice of weeping, crying, and lamenting as well as strong pain” in Sheol (108:5), (71) and in contrast to the Lukan story that vividly narrates the thirst and torment suffered by the rich man in the blazing flame of Hades, (72) the *Hodayot* move quickly

(69) Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 115.

(70) See also 1QS III 21-24: “From the Angel of Darkness stems the corruption of all the sons of justice, and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilts and their offensive deeds are under his dominion in compliance with the mysteries of God, until his moment; and all their afflictions and their periods of grief are caused by the dominion of his enmity; and all the spirits of his lot cause the sons of light to fall.” Cf. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 197.

(71) Cf. *1 En.* 99:1; 103:7-8. To be noted, *1 En.* 18:14-16 and chapter 21 contain visions of “fiery prison of angels,” but there the eternal punishment by fire is applied only to the angels and not to the wicked. As Stuckenbruck highlights, it is only in the *Epistle of Enoch* (found with the Apocalypse of Weeks in *1 En.* 91-107) that the fiery punishment is applied to the human beings. See L. T. Stuckenbruck, “The ‘Otherworld’ and the Epistle of Enoch,” in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (JSJS 143; ed. T. Nicklas, J. Verheyden, E. M. M. Eynikel and F. García-Martínez, Brill: Leiden, 2010), 79-93.

(72) See Luke 16:19-31. Hades is a Greek counterpart of Sheol. The LXX almost always translates “Sheol” as “Hades” (60 out of 66 times). In the NT, Hades appears 11 times (Matt 11:23; 16:18; Luke 10:15; 16:23; Acts 2:27, 31; 1 Cor 15:55; Rev 1:18; 6:8; 20:13, 14). For the LXX’s translation of Sheol, see Wächter, “שְׁאוֹל,” 15:24. For a survey of the concept of Hades in early Jewish and Christian writings, see M. J. Jeremias, “ᾍδης,” *TWNT* 1:146-150; R. J. Bauckham, “Hades, Hell,” *ABD* 3:14-15. For a critique of Jeremias’ account and a fuller exposition of the concept of Hades, see Lehtipuu, *The Afterlife*, 265-275, esp. 267, n. 9. Lehtipuu suggests that Hades can connote different meanings in various contemporaneous texts: “Whereas Luke 16:23 depicts Hades as a place of torment (or at least containing a punitive

from the placement of the wicked in Sheol to the final destiny of the righteous, highlighting above all the provisions of eternal blessings and forgiveness of offenses to the latter. (73) As Holm-Nielsen comments, “there is no clear evidence of to how great an extent the destruction of ungodliness is considered eschatologically or as a historical occurrence within the framework of this world.” (74) In most of the cases, the fates of the wicked are left without further descriptions and elaborations. Taken as a whole, it is likely that the fire in these Qumran texts functions to annihilate, rather than to torment, all the wicked.

That the wicked come eventually to total extinction is rendered more likely in light of what can be glimpsed from the treatise of the two spirits (1QS III 13 – IV 26) in the *Community Rule*, which is generally considered to be a *locus classicus* of the Qumranite doctrine of predestination. (75) According to 1QS IV 12-14, the judgment that await all those who follow the spirit of deceit consists

of an abundance of afflictions at the hands of all the angels of destruction, of everlasting damnation by the scorching wrath of the God of revenges, of unending dread and everlasting shame with humiliation of annihilation by the fire of the dark regions. And all the ages of their generations (shall be spent) in sorrowful mourning and bitter misery in the abysses of darkness, until they are annihilated, without there being a remnant or a survivor for them.

This annihilating judgment stands in stark contrast to the blessings uttered to those who follow the spirit of truth, who will possess “long life,” “everlasting blessings,” “eternal enjoyment with endless life” in “eternal light” (II. 6b-8). (76) A similar view concerning the annihilation

department), Acts 2:27, 31 reflect the Hebrew Bible rendering of a neutral abode of all the dead” (270-271).

(73) E.g. 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV 25-27, where the blessings granted to the loyal are considerably longer than the brief mention of the destruction of the wicked; XI 20-37, where Sheol is mentioned only to *describe* the wondrous salvation of the psalmist from death to the eternal height. While the pain of death is described vividly in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI 6-19, W. A. Tooman suggests that the imagery is mainly derived from biblical texts, the allusions are “imitative and not interpretive” (“Between Imitation and Interpretation: Reuse of Scripture and Composition in *Hodayot* [1QH<sup>a</sup>] 11:6-19,” *DSD* 18 [2011]: 54-73, esp. 73).

(74) Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 295.

(75) Note the discussion of the origins and wider influences of the Qumranite predestination in M. Broshi, “Predestination in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth, Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2005): 238-251. See also D. Timmer, “Variegated Nomism Indeed: Multiphase Eschatology and Soteriology in the Qumranite Community Rule (1QS) and the New Perspective on Paul,” *JETS* 52 (2009): 345-347.

(76) On the positions of the blessings and curses (II.6b-8 and 12-14) within the whole section of 1QS III 13 – IV 26, see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 195, who cites K. Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 99-109.

of the ungodly, as noted by Collins, is found in the *Damascus Document*: “strength and power and a great anger with flames of fire by the hand of all the angels of destruction against those turning aside from the path and abominating the precept, without there being for them either a remnant or survivor” (CD II 5-7). (77) Prominent in both texts is thus the presentation of a prolonged torment that will eventuate in a total extermination of the wicked in the afterlife. (78)

Taken as a whole, the post-mortem annihilation of the wicked envisioned in other sectarian literature complements the peculiar silence about the fates of the wicked in the Qumran texts that envisage fiery Sheol. By taking all these texts into account, the distinctive annihilating power of the blazing flame in the Qumranite Sheol becomes plausible and even tangible.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS

By way of conclusion, I would like to draw attention to Josephus’ depiction of the Essenes:

Agreeing with the sons of the Greeks, they declare that an abode is reserved beyond the Ocean for the souls of the just; a place oppressed neither by rain nor snow nor torrid heat, but always refreshed by the gentle breeze blowing from the Ocean. But they relegate evil souls to a gloomy and stormy dungeon, full of unending chastisement (*J.W.* 2.155). (79)

(77) Cited in Collins, “Otherworld,” 103. See also *DSSSE* 1:553; J. M. Baumgarten and D. R. Schwartz, “Damascus Document (CD),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Vol. 2: Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 15.

(78) For the lexical parallels between the treatise of the two spirits (1QS III 13 – IV 26) and the second admonition of the Damascus Document (CD II 2-13), see A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 242. For an excellent overview of the similarities and various theories that seek to explain the similarities between 1QS and CD, see H. E. Kapfer, “The Relationship between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule: Attitudes toward the Temple as a Test Case,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 152-177. By analysing the attitudes toward the temple in both CD and 1QS, Kapfer argues for the prior composition of CD over 1QS.

(79) Modified from G. Vermes and M. Goodman (trans.), *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 47. This description of the Essene belief in immortality of the soul is comparable to Josephus’ view about the Pharisees (*J.W.* 2.163; *Ant.* 18.14) and Josephus’ own argument against suicide (*J.W.* 3.362, 372, 374-475). See the discussions of these resemblances in Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 206-209; L. L. Grabbe, “Eschatology in Philo and Josephus,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 4: Death, Life after Death, Resurrection and the World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity* (HO 1: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 49; ed. A. J. Avery-Peck and J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 175-177.

Klawans, along with many others, notes that the Essene belief in the immortality of the soul as described by Josephus accords well with the sectarian scrolls that are notably reticent about corporeal resurrection. (80) On the other hand, since Puech argues that the sectarian scrolls conceive a bodily resurrection rather than the immortality of the soul, he is of the opinion that there is a greater discrepancy between the sectarian scrolls and Josephus' account of the Essenes in this respect. (81) While these scholars have all based their arguments on the concepts of resurrection and immortality of the just, this article focuses instead on the characteristics of Sheol in the scrolls, and draws a conclusion by paying attention to two points of tension between Josephus' account and the scrolls' depictions of the afterlife existence in Sheol.

The first is in regard to the presence of fire in Sheol. In Josephus' account, the place where the wicked are punished is "a gloomy and stormy dungeon" (ζοφώδη καὶ χειμέριον ... μυχόν). This description lacks a reference to fire. Through the foregoing comparison between the HB and the DSS, it was shown that several Qumran texts already attest a Sheol where the blazing fire burns for eternity. This fiery feature of Sheol does not appear in any of the biblical passages, but is found in the eschatological prayer incorporated in the *War Scroll*, the exalting praise preserved in the *Hodayot*, and the sapiential literature exemplified by the *Wiles of the Wicked Woman*.

The second tension concerns the literary function of fiery Sheol. In Josephus' account, the netherworld is "full of unending chastisement" (γέμοντα τιμωριῶν ἀδιαλείπτων) of the wicked. This lacks the element of annihilation. Josephus' account of a tormenting otherworld is in agreement with several other writings that flourished around the Second Temple period, and which present an otherworldly fire that serves to torment rather than to annihilate the damned. In texts such as *the Epistle of Enoch* and Luke 16, the tormenting fire serves to redress the social inequality and oppression. Within the Qumran texts

(80) Klawans, *Josephus*, 111-115. Klawans' interpretation of the sectarian immortality of soul is similar to the outcome presented in Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 179-209, esp. 206-209. While Collins agrees that Josephus' account of the Essenes and the sectarian scrolls correspond to each other in terms of ideas of the unembodied, incorporeal afterlife, he also briefly notes that the netherworld in Josephus' account lacks the element of fire evident in several sectarian scrolls. See Collins, "Otherworld," 115-116; idem, "Afterlife," 106-109.

(81) Puech thinks that Hippolytus rather than Josephus offers a more reliable account of the Essenes. See the comparison of Hippolytus' and Josephus' accounts of the Essenes in Puech, *Croyance*, 703-762; J. J. Collins, review of É. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*, *DSD* 1 (1994): 246-252, esp. 247. Cf. Grabbe, "Eschatology," 163-183, esp. 182-183.



examined, it can be deduced that the otherworldly fire is less a tormenting, but more an all-consuming and annihilating power to judge against the wicked. This annihilation by fire in Sheol coheres with the demonization of all threats to the purity of the elect in the Qumran texts. All in all, the tensions created by comparing the Qumranite fiery Sheol with Josephus' account of the Essenes not only highlight the distinctiveness of the annihilating power of the Qumranite fiery Sheol, but also point to a greater diversity and fluidity of various ideologies about the afterlife available in the vibrant Second Temple period.

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## THE REUSE OF SCRIPTURE IN 4QCOMMENTARY GENESIS C (4Q254) AND ‘MESSIANIC INTERPRETION’ IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

SINCE its publication in 1994, scholars have valued 4QCommentary on Genesis C (4Q254) for its insights into the messianic ideologies of the *Yahad*. (1) Line 2 of frg. 4, (2) which redeploys material from Zech 4:14, has garnered a lion's share of the attention in this direction. This allusion to Zech 4:14 has, in turn, been used to support previous arguments that the “two sons of oil” influenced messianic thought preserved in the documents discovered in the Judean Desert. Well before the preliminary publication of 4Q254, Zech 4:14 was ubiquitously enlisted to provide “biblical” background to diarchic ideologies. Millar Burrows was the first to make such a comment in connection with the Scrolls: “an interesting parallel [to diarchic messianic traditions in CD] is thus afforded to the association of Joshua and Zerubbabel as ‘the two sons of oil’ in Zech 4.” (3) This trend of

(1) C. A. Evans and P. W. Flint, “Introduction,” in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. A. Evans and P. W. Flint; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997), 7 n. 14 summarises this interest: “The appearance of the phrase from Zech 4:14 (‘the two sons of oil’) in the context of an apparent interpretation of Gen 49:8-12 (Jacob’s blessing of Judah) may point to the scriptural point of origin of Qumran’s diarchic messianism.”

(2) Recorded as fragment 5 at <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-358284> (accessed 6 January 2015).

(3) M. Burrows, “The Messiahs of Aaron and Israel,” *ATR* 32 (1952): 205. For an overview of diarchic messianism in CD see W. M. Schniedewind, “Structural Aspects of Qumran Messianism in the *Damascus Document*,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 523-535.

drawing parallels between Zech 4:14 and the numerous documents that preserved diarchic traditions continues unabated. (4) Despite the attention given to Zech 4:14 in conversations of diarchic messianism, of all the material from the Judean Desert only 4Q254 4 actually preserves wording from this scriptural locution. As such, one expects that the interpretation of Zech 4:14 in this document would support previous judgments—that the “two sons of oil” played a constitutive role in the construction of diarchic messianic ideologies. However, evidence to support this assertion is generally lacking. In this study, I examine 4Q254 4 (5) and argue toward three interrelated conclusions: 1) The allusion to Zech 4:14 in 4Q254 is not necessarily an example of a

(4) For a selection of references to Zech 4:14 in the context of Qumran messianism see R. E. Brown, “The Messianism of Qumran,” *CBQ* 19 (1957): 63; A. S. van der Woude, *Die Messianischen Vorstellung der Gemeinde von Qumran* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957), 226-227; H.-W. Kuhn, “Die beiden Messias in den Qumrantexten,” *ZAW* 70 (1958): 204; J. Starcky, “Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumran,” *RB* 70 (1963): 484; W. H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible: With Special Attention to the Book of Isaiah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 99-100; J. R. Villalón, “Sources Vétéro-Testamentaires de la doctrine Qumranienne des deux messies,” *RQ* 29 (1972): 55-57; A. Caquot, “Le messianisme qumranien,” in *Qumran: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978), 233; S. Talmon, “The Concepts of Māšīah and Messianism in Early Judaism,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 90-91, 107; J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (1st ed.; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 77; G. S. Oegema, *This Anointed and his People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba* (JSPSup 27; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 40-43; H. Lichtenberger, “Messianic Expectations and Messianic Figures in the Second Temple Period,” in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectation in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, and G. S. Oegema; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 10; J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2/104; Tübingen: Mohr, 1998), 122, 465; H.-J. Fabry, “Die Messiaserwartung in den Handschriften von Qumran,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 148; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 363; A. Le Donne, “Diarchic Symbolism in Matthew’s Procession Narrative: A Dead Sea Scrolls Perspective,” in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality. Volume 1: Thematic Studies* (ed. C. A. Evans and H. D. Zacharias; LNTS 391; London: T&T Clark, 2009), 87-91; J. Høgenhaven, “The Book of Zechariah at Qumran,” *SJOT* 27 (2013): 107-117. A notable few have objected to the use of this tradition: A. Wolters, “The Messiah in the Qumran Documents,” *The Messiah of the Old and New Testaments* (ed. S. Porter; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007), 82; E. F. Mason, “You are a Priest Forever’: Second Temple Jewish Messianism and the Priestly Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews (STDJ 74; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 111-112; J. C. VanderKam, “Jubilees and the Priestly Messiah of Qumran,” *RQ* 13 (1988): 357-358.

(5) See G. J. Brooke, et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4 XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 217-232 (hereafter: DJD XXII).

“messianic interpretation;” 2) the remnant wording on frg. 4 suggests, rather, that Zech 4:14 was employed to describe the privilege of the faithful community, possibly in terms of access to divine wisdom; and 3) the lack of evidence for a messianic interpretation in 4Q254 4 creates hesitation in suggesting that Zech 4 played a role in establishing the diarchic ideologies of the *Yahad*. This short note contributes to discussions of the reuse of scripture in the Scrolls and provides a more careful way to discuss “messianic interpretation” as an ancient phenomenon, pointing to 4Q254 4 as an example.

### A Messianic Interpretation of Zech 4:14 in 4Q254?

4Q254 4 is situated within a collection of 17 fragments, some of which (2-14) are related loosely to Gen 48-50. Line 2 of fragment 4 clearly preserves wording borrowed from Zech 4:14.

Zech 4:14	4Q254 4
אלה שני בני-היצהר העמדים על-אדון כל-הארץ	[ להם ° עם ] [ שני בני היצהר אשר ] [ שומרי מצות אל ] [ ד כיא אנשי הי[ח]ד המ[ה]
These are <i>the two sons of oil</i> standing before the Lord of all the earth	] to them...a people [...] ] <i>two sons oil</i> who (that) [...] ] the ones who keep the commands of God [...] ] for the men of the <i>Ya[h]ad</i> , th[ey...]

According to George Brooke, “the allusion to the highly distinctive phraseology of Zech 4:14 is certain.” (6) In numerous articles, (7) Craig Evans has expressed this same sentiment, advancing the hypothesis that 4Q254 4 preserves a “messianic interpretation” of Zech 4:14 for the following reasons:

(6) Ibid., 224; Brooke, “4Q254 Fragments 1 and 4, and 4Q254a: Some Preliminary Comments,” in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies* (ed. D. Assaf; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994), 186-188.

(7) C. A. Evans, “‘The Two Sons of Oil’: Early Evidence of Messianic Interpretation of Zechariah 4:14 in 4Q254 4 2,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Ideas* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 568; idem., “David in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 194; idem., “The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments: A Response,” *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments* (ed. S. Porter; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007), 234-237.

- 1) The interpretation of Zech 4:14 as messianic coheres with some interpretations in rabbinic literature. (8)
- 2) Frg. 4 may be related to Gen 49:8-12 because frgs. 2-3 and 5-7 are potentially related to Gen 48:11-49:11 and 49:15-26 respectively.
- 3) This interpretation coheres with diarchic messianic traditions in other Qumran manuscripts (see fn. 4).
- 4) Larger (diarchic) messianic overtones are present in Zech 3-6.

Brooke's argument follows similar contours, also describing the reuse of Zech 4:14 in 4Q254 as a "messianic interpretation." (9) Furthermore, he associates 4QCommentary on Genesis A (4Q252 5 2-4), a text that shares lexical material with Gen 49:10a, with 4Q254 4. (10)

The arguments of Brooke and Evans have held sway for two decades. Few have expressed doubts over the assertion that the use of three words from Zech 4:14 in 4Q254 4 2 denotes a messianic interpretation. Nonetheless, foundational terminological issues point to a larger problem with this evaluation of the evidence, particularly for Evans' more detailed engagement.

### **"Messianic" and "Messianic Interpretation"**

A central issue in this discussion pertains to terminology: what constitutes a "messianic interpretation?" (11) By and large, scholars agree that for a text to be messianic it must contain all or most of the following three elements. First, the term משיח, which occurs some 30 times in non-scriptural manuscripts, should be present. Abegg and Evans expand this observation beyond משיח, suggesting that a

(8) See *Sifra* §97 (cf. Lev 7:35-38); *Sav* §18; *'Abot R. Nat.* A 34.4; *Num. Rab.* 14.13 (cf. Num 7:84); 18.16 (cf. Num 16:1); *Lam. Rab.* 1:16 §51. Similar appropriations of Zech 4:14 (not noted by Evans) are found in Karaite literature. See N. Wieder, "The Doctrine of Two Messiahs among the Karaites," *JJS* 6 (1955): 14-25. É. Puech, "Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 239 n. 15 suggests that the use of Zech 4:14 in early medieval Karaite commentaries proves that Essenes (= *Yahad*) used this text to support their messianic ideologies.

(9) Brooke's language relating to the "messianic interpretation" of Zech 4:14 in 4Q254 4 is more cautious in DJD XXII than it is in his preliminary publication, "4Q254."

(10) Brooke, "4Q254," 188.

(11) This terminology is used by Evans, "Early Evidence," 567-568 and Brooke, "4Q254," 187. For a detailed discussion of the definition of a messiah in the Qumran texts see Mason, *Priest Forever*, 73-76.

Second, the description of the messianic figure or figures must also have an eschatological and/or salvific dimension. García Martínez notes that messianic figures in the Scrolls are “eschatological agents of salvation.” (14) Collins concurs: “a messiah is an eschatological figure who sometimes... is designated as a משיח in the ancient sources.” (15)

It is helpful to explore this definition of messianic interpretation in more detail, examining 4Q254 4 in the process. This analysis enables us to describe with precision the way in which the reuse of Zech 4:14 is (or is not) messianic. To my mind, a messianic interpretation might encompass three related but distinct interpretive operations.

First, messianic interpretation could refer to an example of scriptural reuse in which an author borrowed a locution from a source

(16) *Ibid.*, 18. Heavenly messiah differs slightly from the other three categories. See 11QMelch 2 6-19.

tradition, repurposing its wording to refer to eschatological anointed figures. This move neutralizes the meaning of the source text in its native co-textual environment. In this case, the author illustrates little or no sensitivity to the internal discourse of the source tradition, but simply borrows or mimics linguistic material. (17) The embedding of the material in a new co-textual environment imbues the reused locution with meaning distinct from the context of its original scriptural instantiation.

Immediately we encounter problems in attempting to understand the reuse of Zechariah in 4Q254 in this way. A fragmentary target text makes the identification of this type of messianic interpretation difficult to substantiate. Moreover, there is nothing inherently messianic about the extant 13 words of 4Q254 4 that suggests that this type of interpretation is operative. The term משיח is absent from the entirety of the manuscript, as are the messianic paradigms identified by Collins (see above). (18) Collins' definition of a messiah does not cohere with the textual data preserved in the fragments of 4Q254. (19) The physical state of the manuscript makes an appeal to this type of messianic interpretation difficult to determine with certainty. Conversely, the partial preservation of the manuscript does not allow us to discount this option completely; it must be considered openhandedly.

### *Messianic Interpretation as Explication*

Second, the author of 4Q254 could have reused material from Zech 4:14 in order to highlight the inherent or intuited messianic discourse of Zechariah as a work. In this scenario, the composer responsible for 4Q254 understood the internal discourse in Zechariah to be, at least in part, concerned with messiahs and borrowed material in a way that is sensitive to this reading.

Evans appeals to this form of messianic interpretation by suggesting that Zech 3-4 is inherently messianic. For him, the phrase in 4:14b, "standing by the Lord of all the earth" (העמדים על-אדון כל-הארץ), "implies that the two sons of oil have been admitted into God's presence and have taken their places at the divine council." (20) However,

(17) For an example of this type of reuse in the *Hodayot* see W. A. Tooman, "Between Imitation and Interpretation: Reuse of Scripture and Composition in *Hodayot* (1QH<sup>a</sup>) 11:6-19," *DSD* 18 (2011): 54-73.

(18) Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (2nd ed.), 18.

(19) *Ibid.*, 17-18. Collins, in his second edition (see 96 n. 69), does not consider 4Q254 to be messianic.

(20) Evans, "Early Evidence," 572. See also C. L. Meyers and E. M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8* (AB 25B; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), 259.



similar phrases suggest that “the sons of oil” are angelic figures who are already privy to the inner-workings of the heavenly court (Job 1:6; 2:1; *TJ* Zech 4:14 [cf. Gen 6:2]). The identification of these figures as angels is also hinted at by other suggestive locutions within Zechariah (1:8; 3:1-10; 6:1-5). Furthermore, there is no evidence that material from Zech 4:14b (העמדים על-אדון כל-הארץ) was once present in 4Q254. Where one expects העמדים in line 2 of frg. 4, the manuscript reads אשר instead. It is precisely Zech 4:14b that has been altered in frg. 4. Nonetheless, for Evans it is unambiguous that Zechariah’s “vision contributed to Israel’s eschatological hopes of restoration.” (21)

I am not yet convinced by the appeal to this type of messianic interpretation in reference to 4Q254. Significantly, no Second Temple work or New Testament document interpreted the שני בני-היצהר as messiahs—the early reception history of Zech 4:14 does not support Evans’ conclusion. The majority of texts referenced by Evans in support of his argument derive from the post-Second Temple period, and many of these refer generally to the priesthood and monarchy without any clear eschatological thrust. (22) Other works which allude to or translate Zech 4:14 conceptualise the “two sons of oil” as witnesses/prophets (Rev 11:4), (23) angelic figures (*TJ* Zech 4:14), (24) or rabbinic teachers (*b. Sanh.* 3:1). It is helpful at this juncture to trace the ancient history of interpretation of Zech 4:14 more closely, to determine if ancient readers conceptualized Zechariah’s visions in the way that Evans suggests.

Early interpretations of Zech 4:14 provide a surprising paucity of evidence that ancient readers understood these figures as messianic. The Old Greek tradition renders this phrase as “the two sons of wealth” (οἱ δύο υἱοὶ τῆς πλοῦτητος), providing a unique translation of יצהר that eschews the opportunity to make any intuited messianic understanding of the locution more explicit. This translation gives no

(21) Evans, “Early Evidence,” 572.

(22) See *b. Sanh.* 24a; *y. M. Shen* 5:11-14; *Num. Rab.* 14:13; 18:16; *Lam. Rab.* 50:11G; 21:11G; *Sifra* §97 1A-2D.

(23) The allusion to Zech 4:14 in Rev 11:4 has led to various identifications of these figures in Christian tradition. Few reference Zechariah explicitly, but some identify the figures as Zerubbabel and Joshua. See J. Kovacs and C. Rowland, *Revelation* (BBC; Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 126-130. For example, Didymus the Blind, *Comentarii in Zacchariam* 1:334-343 provides a complex exegetical reading of Zech 4:14, suggesting that the figures may be Enoch and Elijah. The Greek text of Didymus is accessible in L. Doutreleau, ed., *Didyme l’Aveugle: Sur Zacharie* (SC 83.1; Paris: Cerf, 1962).

(24) P. S. Alexander, “The Targumim and Early Exegesis of ‘the Sons of God’ in Genesis 6,” *JJS* 23 (1972): 60.

special indication of a messianic interpretation. (25) The next work that clearly alludes to Zech 4:14, setting aside 4Q254 for the moment, is Revelation 11:4 (οὗτοί εἰσιν αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνίαι αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς ἑστῶτες), a text that reused material from Zech 4:14 to describe the “two witness” (Rev 11:3-13). (26) The history of interpretation of these figures is complicated. However, despite the eschatological focus of the passage, these figures are not understood as messianic representatives in Revelation’s reception history. (27)

Additionally, Zech 4:14 does not refer to messiahs in an early version that does not avoid providing translations that explicitly refer to messiahs. *Targum Jonathan* does recognize that Zech 3-6 contains turns of phrase that are suggestive of messianic tendencies, particularly the “branch” (צמח) language of 3:8; 6:12, acknowledged by the choice of translation equivalents. צמח is translated as משיחא in both of these instances and *TJ* also supplies explicit messianic translations in other locutions (4:7; 10:4; 12:10)—although, notably, *not* in Zech 4:14. (28) The messianic renderings in *TJ* do not help Evans’ claim, as none of these texts are referred to in the remnant portion of 4Q254. Conclusively, the “two sons of oil” (Zech 4:14) are not portrayed as messiahs in *TJ*, even though the translator tends to emphasize the messianic dimension of the work. It seems that Zech 4:14 was only understood to refer to messiahs at later period. (29) No document deriving from the Second Temple period indicates a messianic interpretation of Zech 4:14.

The earliest explicit messianic interpretation of this text is found in *’Abot R. Nat.* 34:5 1.D-E:

(25) The usual translation of יצהר is a form of ἐλαϊον. See Num 18:12; Deut 7:13; 11:14; 4 Kgdms 18:32; 2 Chr 31:5; 32:28; etc. This translation does not rule out the possibility that the translator of OG Zechariah understood these figures as messiahs; however, no step is taken to make such an interpretation explicit in the Greek tradition. The later versions revise the translation of יצהר, but in the direction of the MT (for example, Symmachus preserves ἐλαϊου), not messianic expectation. The same phenomenon is found in the translation of the Latin tradition, as the Vulgate reads *duo filii olei*.

(26) See G. V. Allen, “Textual Pluriformity and Allusion in the Book of Revelation. The Text of Zechariah 4 in the Apocalypse,” *ZNW* 106 (2015): 136-145.

(27) See D. E. Aune, *Revelation 6-16* (WBC 52B; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 598-603.

(28) In Zechariah, numerous Hebrew terms stand as equivalents for the Aramaic משיחא in *TJ*: אבן ראשה (4:7), צמח (3:8; 6:12), and יתר (10:4). משיחא also appears where no obvious Hebrew equivalent exists (12:10).

(29) See n. 8.

Along these same lines: “These are the two sons of oil that stand by the lord of all the earth.” This refers to Aaron and the Messiah, but I do not know which of the two is more beloved.

Among rabbinic literature, including *TJ*, this interpretation is exceptional. (30) For example, *Num. Rab.* 18:16 (cf. 14:13) comments on Zech 4:14 thusly: “Has oil sons? Surely not: but the expression applies to Aaron and David who were anointed with the anointing oil, Aaron having taken the priesthood and David the kingship.” In this case, the two sons of oil are not future figures; instead, they refer back to the elevated status of Aaron and David in scriptural narrative. Most other references to Zechariah in rabbinic works reflect a similar attitude toward the “two sons of oil:” they represent the hope for the restoration of priesthood and kingship. (31)

An exception to this rule, and a parallel to *’Abot R. Nat.*, is found in portions of the medieval Karaite tradition. (32) David ben Abraham al-Fasi (10th century C.E.), for example, commenting on Zech 4:14 in Judeo-Arabic notes that

two messiahs are meant, they are Elijah, let him be remembered for good, and the messiah son of David, and of them he says that they stand by the Lord of all the earth, he means their immortality and everlastingness. (33)

Again, this perspective is exceptional in the history of interpretation of Zech 4:14, and is a millennium removed from the composition of 4Q254. Although some late isolated examples exist, Evans’ argument that Zech 4:14 was often read messianically in antiquity is less than decisive.

An additional way that the use of Zech 4:14 in 4Q254 might be considered a messianic interpretation, is if the scribe responsible for

(30) See n. 22 for other references to Zech 4:14 in this corpus.

(31) P. Alexander, “The King Messiah in Rabbinic Judaism,” in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. Day; LHBOTS 270; London: T&T Clark, 1998), 456-473 cautions that messianic ideas in rabbinic Judaism never received a systematic treatment until Saadia Gaon (882-942 C.E.); therefore, it is impossible to speak of a unified position on messiahs in this period.

(32) See Wieder, “Doctrine,” 14-25.

(33) Text quoted from *Ibid.*, 15 with some alteration, excerpted from al-Fasi’s *Kitāb Jāmi’ al-Alfāz*. See M. Polliack, “David Ben Abraham al-Fāsi,” in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World* (vol. 2; ed. N. A. Stillman; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 34-36 for further information on al-Fasi and his work, see S. L. Skoss, ed., *The Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of the Bible Known as Kitāb Jāmi’ al-Alfāz of David ben Abraham al-Fāsi* (2 vols.; YOS 20-21; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936) for an edition of the work.

the manuscript understood the “two sons of oil” to refer to Joshua the high priest and Zerubbabel the governor of the Persian Yehud in the mid-sixth century B.C.E. (34), or as a model for an eschatological instantiation thereof. Again, while this reading is conceivable, there is no example of a similar ancient interpretation. (35)

While it is clear that ancient text producers often reused scriptural material in order to explicate latent meaning in particular source traditions, there is no clear evidence for this type of reuse in 4Q254 4. The desire to unpack underlying meaning is not the only factor that motivated the reuse of scriptural wording in this period. (36)

### *Messianic Interpretation as Intertextual Coordination*

Third, messianic interpretation might refer to the reuse of a locution to comment upon or provide a secondary interpretation of another messianic text (e.g. Gen 49). In this case, material from Zechariah was useful to the scribe of 4Q254 insofar as it commented upon a similar tradition.

Evans appeals to this type of interpretation in his arrangements of the fragments of 4Q254. He suggests that frg. 4 comments secondarily upon the blessing of Judah in Gen 49:8-12 because other fragments in the sequence seem to relate to Gen 49. (37) This arrangement is problematic. 4Q254 2 contains only two legible letters and, while the reconstruction in DJD XXII suggests the name “Hagar,” the connection to Genesis, let alone Gen 48-50, is tenuous. Likewise, frg. 3 is difficult to comprehend due its fragmentary preservation: only three words are clearly legible. While Brooke suggests that this fragment might relate to various portions of Genesis, (38) the lack of a clear text makes this identification necessarily conjectural. Frgs. 5-7, again poorly preserved, may contain material from Gen 49, although some of the reconstructions offered are based on this identification. Even if these fragments do refer to Gen 49, there is little evidence—textual, thematic,

(34) As noted by, among many others, Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, 258 and M. Boda, “Figuring the Future: The Prophets and Messiah,” in *The Messiah of the Old and New Testaments* (ed. S. Porter; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007), 54-57.

(35) R. Mason, “The Messiah in the Postexilic Old Testament Literature,” in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. Day; LHBOTS 270; London: T&T Clark, 1998), 348 notes that, even if Zech 4:14 was originally designed as a circumlocution for Joshua and Zerubbabel, “Zerubbabel faded from the scene or the hopes attached to him by those such as Haggai appeared to founder on reality.”

(36) Tooman, “Between Imitation,” 54-73.

(37) Evans, “Early Evidence,” 571.

(38) Gen 12:16; 22:17; 42:26, 27; 43:3, 13; 47:17; 49:14 are offered as possibilities.

or otherwise—connecting them to frg. 4. (39) The relationship between fragments can be postulated, but no definitive evidence exists that, were a pristine copy of the manuscript available, 4Q254 4 should be situated between frgs. 2-3 and 5-7, as Evans' analysis assumes. (40) Based solely on the extant evidence, a "messianic interpretation through intertextual coordination" is unlikely in this case.

Additionally, I am not fully convinced by the connection that Brooke draws between 4Q254 4 and 4Q252 5 3-4 (cf. Gen 49:10), as the lexical and thematic overlap between fragments is very limited and non-existent between the messianic sections (4Q252 5 2-4; 4Q254 4 2). Based on this this evidence, I find it difficult to substantiate the conclusion that 4Q254 4 comments on Gen 49:8-12 because it is connected to 4Q252 5. This move is only successful if one assumes that 4Q254 4 is messianic, or that both the 4Q254 4 and 4Q252 5 share Zechariah as an underlying source for their messianic conceptions. This lack of direct evidence suggests that the reuse of Zech 4:14 in 4Q254 4 does not necessarily comment on a secondary tradition (either Gen 49 or 4Q252). (41)

The preceding distinctions between types of messianic interpretation provides greater terminological precision, clarity that aids in the analysis of the reuse of scripture as an avenue for the development of diarchic traditions. In previous studies where the reuse of Zech 4:14 in 4Q254 has been labelled a "messianic interpretation," scholars have appealed either to messianic interpretation as explication or messianic interpretation as intertextual coordination. The evidence presented above questions both of these identifications.

### *A Possible Alternative*

In my estimation, the messianic dimension of the use Zech 4:14 in 4Q254 has been overemphasized to the detriment of understanding this reference in light of the wording actually present on the fragment. I suggest that an alternative to reading these figures as messiahs, without denying that a variety of messianic expectations (diarchic or otherwise)

(39) The physical state of the fragments does not permit me to offer an alternative reconstruction of the manuscript using photographs alone. Even with the manuscripts at hand, it is not entirely clear that each of the 17 frgs. assigned to 4Q254 actually belong to the same manuscript, although frg. 4 does share some common physical characteristics with other fragments in the group. See DJD XXII, 217-218.

(40) Evans, "Early Evidence," 570-572.

(41) É. Puech, "4Q252: 'Commentaire de la Genèse A' ou 'Bénédiction Patriarcales?'" *RQ* 26 no 2 (2013): 251 also doubts any correlation between 4Q252 and 4Q254.

were operative within the community over the course of its existence, (42) is to understand the “two sons of oil” as a reference to the *Yahad*. The Deuteronomic phraseology in line 3 (שומרי מצות אל) and the reference to the “men of the *Yahad*” (43) (line 4) provide the best context in which to understand the occurrence of wording from Zech 4:14. Elsewhere in the literature from the Judean Desert, phrases similar to those found in line 3 (שומרי מצות אל) refer self-referentially to the faithful members of the *Yahad*. (44) Understanding line 3 as a circumlocution for the community is supported by the likely preservation of the phrase “the men of the *Yahad*” in line 4. It is possible that the material from Zech 4:14 describes characteristics of the community as well, namely their privileged access to divine knowledge: they are like the “two sons of oil” in that they have special access to or an especially close relationship with the divine, leading to revelatory access to divine wisdom and insight. (45) The word יצהר, a term that denotes agricultural wealth or blessing (e.g. Deut 7:13; Jer 31:12), also suggests that Zech 4:14 was used in this way, possibly referring to the community’s overabundance of blessing or provision—including wisdom. Due to the state of the fragment’s preservation, it is difficult to determine the precise content of this wisdom. But, as other manuscripts like the 4QInstruction texts (esp. 4Q416) demonstrate, divinely imparted wisdom encompasses a number of subjects, both earthly and heavenly. (46)

(42) On the development of messianic traditions at Qumran see Mason, *Priest Forever*, 76-82; Zimmermann, *Messianische*, 447-454; S. Ruzer, *Mapping the New Testament: Early Christian Writings as a Witness for Jewish Biblical Exegesis* (JCP 13; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 215-217.

(43) Compare the former to Exod 20:6; Deut 4:2; 5:10; 6:17; 7:9; 8:6; 10:13; 28:9; 2 Kgs 17:19; CD III 2; XIX 1-2 and the latter to CD XX 32; 1QS V 1-3, 16; VI 3, 21; VII 20, 24; VIII 11, 16; IX 6-7, 10, 19; 1Q31 I 1; 4Q165 IX 3; 4Q177 5-6; 4Q254 V 5; 4Q256 IX 9; XVIII 2; 4Q258 I 2, 7-8; VIII 3; 4Q259 II 7; 4Q284a II 4; 4Q286 XX 4; 4Q288 I 1.

(44) E.g. CD XIX 1-2.

(45) See A. P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 68; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 241-257, 309-329, 363-375 who describes the acquisition of wisdom as a mode of privileged revelation in the Second Temple period. W. A. Tooman, “Wisdom and Torah at Qumran: Evidence from the Sapiential Texts,” in *Wisdom and Torah: The Reception of ‘Torah’ in the Wisdom of the Second Temple Period* (ed. B. U. Schipper and D. A. Teeter; JSJSup 163; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 205 also notes that “wisdom is associated with apocalyptic knowledge, the Mosaic Torah, creation, Israelite history, human perception, the lives of the ancients, and the *raz nihyeh*, ‘the mystery that is to be.’”

(46) See. F. García Martínez, “Wisdom at Qumran: Worldly or Heavenly?,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 1-15 (esp. 8).

Similar phenomena occur elsewhere in Judean Desert documents. The clearest example is 1QM XI 6-7, a portion of a longer priestly prayer pertaining to battle with *Kittim* (XI 1-12) (47) that quotes Num 24:17-19:

a star will depart from Jacob, a sceptre will be raised in Israel. It will smash the temples of Moab, it will destroy all the sons of Seth. It will come down from Jacob, it will exterminate the remnants of the city, the enemy will be its possession, and Israel will perform feats.

This text (Num 24:17-19) is commonly interpreted to apply to messiahs (CD VII 19; 4Q175 9-13), and the quotation in 1QM is followed immediately (XI 7-8) with the phrase “by the hand of your anointed ones (משיחיהם), seers of decrees, you *taught* us the ti[mes of] the wars of your hands.” However, in the context of 1QM XI, the quotation does not identify messianic figures, but serves to encourage the congregation assembled for battle—it is God that has taught them the times and methods for defeating their enemies. (48) H. Stegemann concurs: “The meaning is that ‘the star’ and ‘the scepter’ of the biblical source are not individuals, but again the collective of the people Israel.” (49)

The perspective of 1QM XI corresponds very closely with my proposal for understanding 4Q254 4. First, 1QM quotes a “messianic” text that describes the actions of two figures (Jacob and Israel) who represent the people of God in the prayer in column XI. These figures provide an obvious parallel for the “two sons of oil” in 4Q254, indicating that it is plausible that these figures represent the community. Second, the community represented by the Jacob and Israel is privy to special knowledge pertaining to warfare (XI 7-10) that was taught to them by God—their military success is the result of divine wisdom. This perspective may well have been reflected in 4Q254 as well, although the lack of extant material makes this conclusion tentative. Nonetheless, the available evidence for understanding the “two sons of oil” as messiahs is underwhelming. The preserved wording of frg. 4,

(47) See J. Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscript* (CQS 6; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 104-115.

(48) See J. A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Chapman, 1971), 43. Ruzer, *Mapping*, 217-220 identifies others instances in the scrolls where messianic texts refer to the community’s collective self-definition: 4Q266 ii II 12 (= CD A VI); 4Q270 ii II 12, 14; 4Q251 ii II 1.

(49) H. Stegemann, “Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 1QSB, and to Qumran Messianism,” *RQ* 17 (1996): 502; see also A. Steudel, “The Eternal Reign of the People of God—Collective Expectations in Qumran Texts (4Q246 and 1QM),” *RQ* 17 (1996): 507-525 (esp. 522-524).



in conjunction with the comparative example from 1QM XI (50), suggests that Zech 4:14 was deployed to describe the privileged status of the community, perhaps in regard to their access to divine revelation.

## Conclusions

Based on the preceding evidence, it is difficult to characterize the reuse of Zech 4:14 in 4Q254 4 as a messianic interpretation. The first option outlined above (messianic interpretation through contextual change) is impossible to substantiate positively due to the lack of context in 4Q254, but cannot be discounted completely. I have demonstrated that the second (messianic interpretation through explication) and third (messianic interpretation through intertextual coordination) options are unlikely explanations for this particular example of reuse. Despite many modern interpretations that suggest otherwise, (51) ancient readers rarely understood Zech 4:14 to refer to messiahs. Numerous interpretations of Zech 4:14 existed in antiquity, many of which suggest that the שני בני הדין were understood as angels in the divine council, or other figures. The majority of the interpretations of Zech 4:14 from the second century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. were not messianic. Moreover, the lack of positive evidence linking Zech 4:14 or 4Q254 to either Gen 49 or 4Q252 suggests that the scribe responsible for 4Q254 did not coordinate material from Zechariah as a way to comment upon other messianic texts. On its own, the allusion to Zech 4:14 does not militate that 4Q254 4 pertained to messiahs. Messianic interpretation through contextual change remains a theoretical possibility, although this too cannot be demonstrated with any level of certainty.

In the on-going evaluation of channels of tradition that may have contributed to diarchic messianic ideologies in the *Yahad*, caution should be exercised in pointing toward Zech 4:14 as a scriptural foundation. The reuse of Zech 4:14 in 4Q254 4 *could* be messianic, but it is more convincing to think of this reference as further support for communal identity and the privileged access to wisdom. Due to the diverse interpretations of Zech 4:14 in early Judaism, we can no longer assume that the “two sons of oil” influenced the construction

(50) For, other examples of similar phenomena, albeit less conclusive ones, see 4Q246, 4Q521 II, 11Q13 (11QMelch) II.

(51) See the particularly astute reading of E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic* (OS 35; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 40-43. See A. Wolters, *Zechariah* (HCOT; Leuven Peeters, 2014), 154-155 for an opposing position.

of the *Yahad*'s diarchic ideologies. This observation is particularly poignant since 4Q254 is the only Judean Desert manuscript that actually preserves material from Zech 4:14. More generally, this brief study has highlighted the importance of clearly articulating what is meant by "messianic interpretation" in terms of ancient exegetical repertoires.

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# THE LANGUAGE OF THE COPPER SCROLL: A RENEWED EXAMINATION

## *Summary*

In the *editio princeps* (DJD III, 1962) of the Copper Scroll (3Q15) J. T. Milik defines its Hebrew as a dialect of Mishnaic Hebrew (MH), a description that has been both contested and defended by subsequent scholars. This article surveys main lines of the discussion, and attempts a fresh description of important features of the Hebrew of 3Q15, on the basis of the improved text edition by Émile Puech now available (2006). A comprehensive analysis of the language in 3Q15 confirms, and provides additional evidence for the findings of Milik and other scholars. Features shared by 3Q15 and MH include: Patterns of noun formation, the consistent use of the plural ending ׀-, the exclusive use of the relative pronoun ׀, the frequent employment of the possessive pronoun ׀, the use of adjectives of world direction (rather than construct chains). The most striking affinity between 3Q15 and MH is in the vocabulary. As would be expected, 3Q15 has a great number of lexemes which are common to all relevant types of Hebrew (Biblical Hebrew (BH), Qumran Hebrew (QH), and MH). However, of some 89 lexemes in 3Q15, which occur only in some of these “types” of Hebrew, 33 are shared exclusively by 3Q15 and MH texts. 19 of these have distinct synonyms in BH, and 13 have counterparts in both BH and QH. 3Q15, then, has more points of contact with MH than with any other relevant type of ancient Hebrew.

THE Copper Scroll from Qumran Cave 3 (3Q15) is unique with regard to its material—it is an inscribed scroll made of copper—and its contents—the text presents itself as an inventory of valuables hidden in various locations in Palestine. The scroll was discovered in 1952 by a team of archaeologists lead by Roland de Vaux. Due to the unusual material of the document, and its state of preservation, the opening and reading of the scroll had to wait until 1955-1956, when it was opened at the Manchester College of Science and Technology. An official edition was published in 1962 by Józef Tadeusz

Milik (*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* III). (1) John M. Allegro had published an alternative—and generally less reliable—edition in 1960. (2) The most authoritative text available is the new edition published in 2006 by Émile Puech, following extensive restoration work and rephotographing of the Copper Scroll carried out in 1994-1996 at the Valectra laboratory of Electricité de France. (3)

Since the publication of the Copper Scroll in 1962, the nature and linguistic affiliation of its Hebrew has been a subject of scholarly interest and debate. In his *editio princeps* Milik defines the Hebrew of the Copper Scroll as a dialect of Mishnaic Hebrew. The text, according to Milik, was written in a language spoken by Jews during the Roman period in the central and coastal areas of Palestine. (4) Milik's description of the language of 3Q15 has been both contested and defended by scholars in the light of the publication of all the Qumran manuscripts, and of the continued investigation into the language of these texts. This article will offer an overview of the discussion, and then attempt a fresh assessment of the language of 3Q15 on the basis of the 2006 edition by Puech, which provides a significantly improved textual basis for reading and interpreting the Copper Scroll.

(1) Józef Tadeusz Milik, "Le rouleau de cuivre provenant de la grotte 3Q (3Q15)", in Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, Roland de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962).

(2) John Marco Allegro, *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll: The Opening and Decipherment of the Most Mysterious of the Dead Sea Scrolls, a Unique Inventory of Buried Treasure* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1960). Following preliminary editions of excerpts of the text, Milik had published, in 1959, a French translation of the entire text with notes on linguistic problems and topography (Milik, "Le rouleau de cuivre de Qumrân. Traduction et commentaire topographique", *Revue Biblique* 66 (1959): 321-357), followed by an English translation in 1960 (Milik, "The Copper Document from Cave III of Qumran: Translation and Commentary", *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 4-5 (1960): 137-155). By 1959, Milik had delivered his text for DJD III (Cf. Milik, "Le rouleau de cuivre", 321). Milik and not Allegro was therefore the first to publish the entire text of 3Q15, as Émile Puech points out (Émile Puech, "Le rouleau de cuivre de la grotte 3 de Qumrân (3Q15). Édition révisée", in Daniel Brizemeure, Noël Lacoudre, et Émile Puech, *Le Rouleau de cuivre de la grotte 3 de Qumrân (3Q15). Expertise—Restauration—Épigraphie. Vol. I* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 55/I; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 169-227, p. 172, note 15).

(3) Puech, "Le rouleau de cuivre". An updated English translation of Puech's edition, introduction, and commentary is now available: Émile Puech, *The Copper Scroll Revisited* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 112; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015).

(4) Milik, DJD III, 221-222 ("Presque complet, il [3Q15] nous livre un long texte rédigé en hébreu populaire, parlé effectivement par les Juifs résidant en Judée, au sud-ouest et au sud de la Palestine, ainsi que dans la vallée du Jourdain, et cela depuis l'époque perse jusqu'à la Deuxième Guerre Juive").

## I. OVERVIEW OF THE DISCUSSION

In his analysis of the language of 3Q15, Milik states explicitly that by MH he understands the Hebrew spoken in Judaea from the Persian period to the Second Jewish War. (5) The earliest stages of MH are represented by the biblical book of Qohelet (and by elements of the language in the Song of Songs, Lamentations, Jonah, and Ben Sira), while the latest stage is that of the Mishna and other Talmudic writings. The language of 3Q15, then, reflects an intermediary stage in the development of MH, and from the perspective of the history of the Hebrew language, the text is important exactly because it throws light on this period. Milik lists a group of sources reflecting more or less the same type of intermediary MH: 1) Certain literary texts from Qumran Cave 4; 2) Jewish inscriptions from the Roman period; 3) The Copper Scroll, and 4) Letters and contracts from Wadi Murabba'at. (6) The literary texts in MH from the Qumran library cited by Milik—still unpublished in 1961 when Milik's edition of the Copper Scroll appeared—are the document later known as *Miqṣat Ma'āse Ha-Torah* or *Halakhic Letter* (4QMMT) and the *Calendrical Texts/Mishmarot*. (7) Milik clearly uses the term MH in a broad sense (not confined to the language of the Mishna proper), as covering types of spoken and written Hebrew over a long span of time and comprising several different dialects.

Since the publication of 3Q15 the Qumran texts referred to by Milik as linguistically affiliated with MH have also been published. 4QMMT was published in 1994, (8) and the *Calendrical Texts/Mishmarot* were published in 2001. (9) The linguistic descriptions of these texts have been nuanced somewhat, as they were properly published and analysed. Elisha Qimron, editor of 4QMMT with John Strugnell, maintains that the language of 4QMMT is not MH, although its vocabulary is closer to MH than to BH. The grammatical structure of 4QMMT, Qimron asserts, is basically the same as in other Qumran texts, and differs from that of MH. (10)

(5) Milik, DJD III, 222.

(6) Milik, DJD III, 222.

(7) Milik designates the still unpublished six manuscripts of 4QMMT as “mišn<sup>a</sup>-mišn<sup>a</sup>”. In his preliminary understanding of the text, it represents an apocalyptic composition, in which the angels speaking in the first person plural give instructions regarding laws of purity, and the end of days, to a human visionary.

(8) Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqṣat Ma'āse Ha-Torah* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

(9) Shemaryahu Talmon, Jonathan Ben-Dov, Uwe Glessmer, *Qumran Cave 4. XVI: Calendrical Texts* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

(10) On the language and linguistic affiliation of 4QMMT see Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 65-108. There is no analysis of the linguistic affiliation of the Calendrical Texts as such in DJD XXI, but the editors note the absence of a technical (= MH)

Another important document with regard to linguistic comparison with the Copper Scroll is the *Temple Scroll*, which Yigael Yadin published in 1983. (11) This text, obviously, was unknown to Milik in 1962. Yadin characterizes the language of the Temple Scroll as heavily influenced by MH (“Rabbinic Hebrew”). (12)

At a more general level, scholarly perspectives on MH have been widened and refined. Theories on the character and origin of MH have varied considerably in modern scholarship. While there was a discussion among 19th and early 20th century scholars whether MH was an artificially created literary language or a living spoken tongue, a consensus has emerged in more recent generations of scholars that MH must be considered a living language, which developed naturally and was realized in a number of spoken dialects. This consensus is clearly presupposed by Milik. Recent scholars have emphasized that MH probably should not be viewed as a “linear” extension or development from BH but as a spoken and literary language in its own right, existing over a long span of time and co-existing with BH for some time at least. (13)

Scholars have different preferences regarding the employment of the term “Mishnaic Hebrew”. Some scholars opt for a limited use of the term, restricting “MH” to cover the language of the Mishna (the dialect some prefer to label “Tanaaitic Hebrew”). (14) Others use the term more broadly to cover a number of Hebrew dialects, sharing a number of traits that distinguish them from the Hebrew of the biblical

use of the terms *משמרה/משמרות* in the Qumran texts (Talmon, Ben-Dov, Glessmer, DJD XXI, 9).

(11) Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll. Vol. 1-3* (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society/The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem/The Shrine of the Book, 1977-1983).

(12) The influence of MH (“Rabbinic Hebrew”), according to Yadin, was due to the author’s tendency to employ words and structures of his own vernacular in spite of his intention to write in BH: “The wide employment of rabbinic Hebrew, in spite of the author’s own attempt to write in the style of the Bible, proves that many patterns of rabbinic Hebrew had already taken final shape at the time when the scroll was being composed” (Yadin, *The Temple Scroll 1*, 39). See Yadin’s description of particular linguistic features of 11QT<sup>a</sup> resembling MH, *ibid.*, 33-39.

(13) Cf. Eduard Yecheskel Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem-Leiden: Magness Press, The Hebrew University/Brill, 1982), 115-120; Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 161-179; Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts Vol. 1: An Introduction to Approaches and Problems* (London-Oakville: Equinox, 2008), 230-231, 242-243.

(14) Cf. Young, Rezetko, Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating*, 223. Here, the language of the Mishna tractates, the Tosefta, and early Midrashim, is labelled “MH1”, while the later stage of the language, that of the Amoraim, is labelled “MH2”.

writings. To a certain extent, the question of whether the Hebrew of the Copper Scroll should be considered “MH”, as Milik asserts, may be said to be a matter of definition.

Milik’s assertion that the language of 3Q15 is basically a dialect of MH has not gone unchallenged in subsequent scholarship. Jonas C. Greenfield in his 1969 review of DJD III was rather critical of Milik’s categorization. According to Greenfield, the nature of MH is not sufficiently described, and the Bar Kokhba texts and the Qumran texts allegedly written in MH need to be more thoroughly investigated before anything definite can be said about their relationship to the language of the Copper Scroll. (15) Greenfield also points out that Milik seems content to describe MH on the basis of the printed editions, which are based on much later medieval manuscripts, and use a standardized orthography and vocalization, not taking into account the extensive variation found in the early manuscript tradition. (16)

Such notes of caution have made their impact on further study of the language of 3Q15, but the basic impression that the Copper Scroll, like 4QMMT, is linguistically more closely related to MH than the remaining Qumran scrolls has been upheld by most scholars. Not atypical in this respect is Lawrence H. Schiffman’s formulation: “None of these documents can yet be called Mishnaic, but the Copper Scroll certainly comes as close as possible”. (17) The differences between the language of 3Q15 and that of the majority of Qumran documents have often been noted. Shelomo Morag assigns the language the Copper Scroll to a specific category, beside that of “General Qumran Hebrew”, and calls this category “Copper Scroll Hebrew”. (18) Morag makes a further distinction between this linguistic class and that of “Qumran Mishnaic” (represented, above all, by 4QMMT), thus emphasizing the peculiar and in some respects unique linguistic character of 3Q15. Notably, Elisha Qimron has argued that the language of 3Q15 should not be labelled “MH”. According to Qimron, the grammar of 3Q15, like the grammar of 4QMMT, “is basically identical with that

(15) Jonas C. Greenfield, “The Small Caves of Qumran”, *JAOS* 89 (1969): 128-141 at 137-138.

(16) Greenfield, “The Small Caves”, 137. Cf. on the variegation of the MH manuscript traditions, Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 174-179.

(17) Lawrence H. Schiffman, “The Architectural Vocabulary of the Copper Scroll and the Temple Scroll”, in *Copper Scroll Studies* (ed. George J. Brooke and Philip R. Davies; Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 40; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 2006), 180-195 at 195.

(18) Shelomo Morag, “Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations”, *Vetus Testamentum* 38 (1988): 148-164 at 149.



of the other DSS, revealing no feature unique to MH". (19) This conclusion is obviously related to Qimron's view of Qumran Hebrew as reflecting the spoken dialect of Jerusalem in the Second Temple period, while MH (a term he clearly prefers to define in a relatively strict manner) is—first and foremost, at least—the Hebrew dialect reflected in the Mishna. In Qimron's opinion, these are different and linguistically distinguishable types of Hebrew. (20)

Several more specific studies have confirmed the basic notion of affinity between the language of the Copper Scroll and MH while at the same time adding nuances to the picture. Yohanan Thorion studied a number of linguistic characteristics of the Copper Scroll, and basically confirms the results reached by Milik. (21) Al Wolters has pointed to the affinity between the lexicon of 3Q15 and that of MH, supplementing and expanding the evidence cited by Milik. (22) Similarly, Francisco Jiménez Bedman's analysis of the lexicon of 3Q15 also supports the notion of affinity between the scroll and MH. (23) Bedman emphasizes that the Copper Scroll enlarges by more than 25% the list drawn up by Qimron of words mainly attested in Qumran texts and in Tannaitic and Amoraic literature. (24) Accordingly, in his comprehensive study of the language of 3Q15, Bedman maintains that the Copper Scroll should be regarded as the first known document written in "Rabbinic Hebrew". (25) Less clear-cut are the results of the study

(19) Elisha Qimron, "The Nature of DSS Hebrew and its Relation to BH and MH", in *Diggers at the Well. Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde; Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 36; Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2000), 232-244 at 234.

(20) "It is my conviction that the grammar of the DSS reflects the Hebrew of the period spoken in Jerusalem or in its vicinity. This grammar differs markedly from either that of MH or that of Tiberian BH" (Qimron, "The Nature of DSS Hebrew", 232).

(21) Yohanan Thorion, "Beiträge zur Erforschung der Sprache der Kupferrolle", *Revue de Qumran* 12 (1985-1986): 163-176.

(22) Al Wolters, "The Copper Scroll and the Vocabulary of Mishnaic Hebrew", *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1990): 483-495.

(23) Francisco Jiménez Bedman, "Lexical Analysis of the Copper Scroll from the Perspective of Mishnaic Hebrew", in *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. Proceedings of the 6th EAJIS Congress, Toledo, July 1998. Volume 1: Biblical, Rabbinical, and Medieval Studies* (ed. Judit Targarona Borrás and Angel Sáenz-Badillos; Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 1999), 65-71.

(24) Bedman, "Lexical Analysis", 69. Cf. E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Harvard Semitic Studies 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 98-104.

(25) Francisco Jiménez Bedman, *El Rollo de Cobre de Qumran (3Q15). Estudio Lingüístico. Tesis doctoral realizada por Don Francisco Jiménez Bedman bajo la dirección del Doctor Don Miguel Pérez Fernández, Catedrático de Lengua y Literatura Hebrea de la Universidad de Granada* (Granada: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 2000), 3

by Piotr Muchowski, who examined a particular aspect of the language of 3Q15 (expressions of direction), concluding that the text is linguistically affiliated with the Bar Kochba letters but differs from what he terms “classical” MH (the language of the Mishna). (26)

## II. LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF 3Q15

In the following, we shall attempt a description of the language of the Copper Scroll in its various aspects. The distinctive genre of 3Q15, which combines the basic format of a list or catalogue with aspects of instruction and itinerary, means that data for certain aspects of the language—notably the verbal system—are extremely limited.

### 1. Orthography and Morphology of the Copper Scroll

Plene-spellings are used in a number of cases (גדול, שלוש, feminine plural endings in ו-ת). Defective spellings, however, also occur: כל (throughout, I 10; III 4; IX 16; XII 5, 7, 9, 12), בתכו (II 5), מבא (XI 16), and the feminine plural אפדת (I 9). We find אצר (I 10) alongside אוצר (VIII 2). The imperative of חפר is generally represented as חפור, but חפר also occurs (VI 9, 12).

A characteristic feature of the orthographic system in 3Q15 is the extensive use of *aleph* for final *-a*. We find the following feminine nouns: אמה (“arm”, “canal”, “dyke”, “sewer”, I 11; IV 3; VII 3; VIII 1); חליא (“entrenchment”, “circular wall”, I 7); מבסא (“winding staircase”, I 13); מוקא (“channel”, II 9); חומא (“wall”, II 10); ברכא (“pool”, II 13; IV 3); פנא (“corner”, III 1, 5); אדמא (“earth”, IV 9); מערא (“cave”, VI 7; VII 8); כנא (“base”, “stand”, VI 7); מלכא (“queen”, VI 11); מסמא (“closing stone”, “slab”, XI 6); סירא (“thorn bush?”, XI 14); מעלא (“step”, XII 4); שדא (“box”, “chest”, XII 5); ביכא (“pipe”, “gutter”, “canal”, XII 8); ירדא (“descent”, I 13).

The spelling with *aleph* for final *-a* is also used in a number of place nouns: כוזבא (VII 14-15, cf. biblical כוזב 1 Chr 4:22); כפא (V 12); העצלא (IV 9-10); סככא (IV 13; V 2, 5, 13, cf. biblical סככה Jos 15:61).

(“el primer document escrito conocido en Hebreo Rabínico”). Cf. Bedman’s slightly more cautious formulation: “Entendemos el hebreo del Rollo de Cobre como el antecedente dialectal más genuine del HR” (*ibid.*, 355).

(26) Piotr Muchowski, “Language of the Copper Scroll in the Light of the Phrases Denoting Directions of the World”, in: *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. Michael O. Wise, Norman Golb, John J. Collins, and Dennis G. Pardee; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 711; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 319-327.

We find the same orthography in adjectives in the feminine singular: גְּדוּלָּה (V 3; XI 7; XII 8); חִיצוֹנָה (VIII 4); סַחֲרָה (XII 2); עֲלִיוֹנָה (XII 4). To these we may add an instance of the feminine singular of the participle (*lamed he*-verb): צוּפָּה (VI 2).

Final *-a* is sometimes, but much more rarely, represented by *he*. Thus, we find the proper noun אַחִיה (VIII 2) and the noun מִנְחָה (IX 10).

The predominance of *aleph* as vowel letter for final *-a* is a feature which the Copper Scroll shares with the great Isaiah scroll 1QIs<sup>a</sup>. (27)

*Aleph* is sometimes employed for final *-e*. We note the noun מִשְׁנָה ("copy", XII 11), the masculine singular of the participle (*lamed he*-verb): צוּפָּה (VIII 10, 12; IX 4, 7; XI 5), and the demonstrative pronoun in the masculine singular: זֶה (XII 11).

*Aleph* may represent a final *-o* in suffixes: בִּיאָתָה ("its entrance", III 9); פִּתְחָה ("its opening/entrance", XII 10). The reference in both cases is the masculine noun שִׁית, "pit". However, the orthography with *waw* for the third person masculine suffix is the more common (cf. below).

*Aleph* occurs as a vowel letter in מִנְקִיאוֹת (III 3 = BH מִנְקִיָּת/מִנְקִיּוֹת, "sacrificial bowls") and קִסְאוֹת (III 4 = BH קִשּׁוֹת). This use of *aleph* in digraphs is widely attested in Qumran texts. (28) We find the spelling רוּשׁ (V 1) alongside ראשׁ (XI 5).

3Q15 uses ס for שׁ in עֶסֶר ("ten"), but occasionally we find the spelling עֶשְׂרָה (I 4), עֶשְׂרִין (VIII 13).

Likewise, ס replaces שׁ in סְמֹל, סְמָל ("left", I 13; X 6). This phenomenon is attested, but not very common, in Qumran texts. (29)

Regarding the formation of nouns, two characteristic features stand out: 3Q15 contains a number of feminine formations (which may be contrasted with masculine forms in BH): חִבְלָה ("district", IX 4), כִּינָה ("cavity", IV 6), כִּנָּה ("base", VI 7), סִירָה ("thorn bush"? "white pine"? IX 14). And, secondly, we find a preference for formations of the type בִּיאָה ("coming", III 9; XII 1), טְבִילָה ("immersion", I 12),

(27) *Aleph* replacing *he* for final *-a* is found occasionally in Qumran texts, but with greater frequency in biblical texts, in particular 1QIs<sup>a</sup>. Cf. Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIs<sup>a</sup>)* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 163-164; Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 23; Bedman, *El Rollo de Cobre*, 208.

(28) Thorion, "Sprache der Kupferrolle", 168. Cf. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20-21 (§ 100.5); Bedman, *El Rollo de Cobre*, 208. Cf. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background*, 166-171. The peculiar spelling of a plural feminine participle הַבּוֹאֹת (I 2) is more likely to be explained as a scribal mistake than a metathesis of vowels. Cf. Thorion, "Sprache der Kopferrolle", 168-169; Puech, "Le rouleau de cuivre", 179.

(29) Cf. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24; Bedman, *El Rollo de Cobre*, 216.

יציאה (“exit”, VII 14), ירידה (“descent”, X 1), צחיאה (“dry land”, IX 15). This noun pattern is characteristic of MH. (30)

## 2. Grammar of the Copper Scroll

### *Nouns*

The masculine plural ending in 3Q15 is ך- throughout. The plural ending ך- is found only in מים (3 occurrences) and שתיים (2 occurrences, against 3 occurrences of שתיך). This obviously is a phenomenon shared by 3Q15 and MH. The plural in ך- is also found occasionally in the Bar Kochba letters.

### *Pronouns and suffixes*

The independent personal pronoun occurs once in the form הו (XI 7). The demonstrative pronoun is represented as זא (XII 11), where the third person masculine is clearly intended (הכתב הזא, “this document”).

The suffix for the third person masculine in most cases is represented by *waw*. We find: בו (II 6, 8, 9; XI 10), שלו (XI 14), בתכו (II 5), קרקעו (“its floor”, I 7; X 4), פתחו (“its opening”, I 11), ממזרחו (“from its east side”, III 11), בצפנו (“at its north side”, IV 2), תחתו (VI 5), משרולו (“from its base”, IX 1), שולו (“its edge”, XI 7), ביאתו (XII 1). The suffix for the third person masculine singular is represented by *he* in פרושה (“its explanation”, XII 12). The suffix for the third person feminine is written with *he* (usually) or with *aleph*: כליה (I 3; XII 5), תחתיה (VIII 6), גבה (I 14, “its height”, possibly referring back to המסכא “staircase”), פתחא (XII 10), פיה (XII 11).

The suffix for the third person masculine plural occurs in the short form: לפיהם (IX 12), משחותיהם (XII 12), with a preposition אצלם (V 7; XI 1, 4). Twice we find the form אצלן (XI 11, 15). The second person masculine singular is בבואתך ך-: (IV 3; XI 13), בבואך (X 5). The long forms of these suffixes are absent from 3Q15. (31)

The relative pronoun is ש, occasionally spelt שי (IX 14; X 5). 3Q15 has 31 occurrences of the relative pronoun ש. The pronoun אשר does not occur in 3Q15. The consistent use of ש is, of course, a feature

(30) Cf. Kutscher, *A History*, 128; Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 186.

(31) Bedman (*El Rollo de Cobre*, 237) cites בירךא (I 13) as a case of the long pronoun for the second person masculine. However, the reading is either בירדא (“descent”) or בירךא (“side”). *Aleph* is word ending, not suffix. Cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 183.

common to 3Q15, MH and the Bar Kochba texts. It is also found in certain parts of the Hebrew Bible (in particular Qohelet and Song of Songs). In Qumran texts generally ש is very rare. The vast majority of cases, apart from the Copper Scroll, are found in 4QMMT, where this pronoun is used throughout. (32)

The possessive pronoun של occurs frequently (24 times) in 3Q15. (33) The most common construction with של is in descriptions of hiding-places, where של is preceded by a prepositional clause (usually with the preposition ב) and followed by a toponym or some other designation of a place or locality:

- בתל של קחלה ("in the mound of Kohlit", I 9)  
 ביגר של גי הסככא ("in the (burial) mound of the valley of Secacah", IV 13)  
 במערה של הכנא של הרנב ("in the cavity at the base of the boulder", VI 7-8)  
 באמא של קיב[ון] המים ("in the water conduit at the gath[ering of waters]", VII 3)  
 ביגר של פי צוק הקדרון ("in the (burial) mound at the entrance of the narrow pass of the Kedron", VIII 8)  
 בשלף של השוא ("in the unploughed land in the (valley of) Shaveh", VIII 10)  
 בריו של השוא ("in the irrigated land in the (valley of) Shaveh", VIII 14)  
 בים של גי איך ("in the water tank of the valley of Job (?)", X 8)  
 בפי המבוע של בית שם ("at the mouth of the spring of Beth Sham", XII 6)  
 בביבא הגדולא של הבוק ("in the large pipe of Bezek", XII 8)

We also find של followed by a personal noun: מעל החרין של שלומו ("from above Solomon's trench", V 8-9).

Or it may be followed of an indication of the group or class to which a previously mentioned item belongs:

- הכל של הדמע ("the total of the tithe", I 10)  
 כל[ן] כסף וכלי זהב של דמע ("vessels of silver and vessels of gold belonging to the tithe", XII 6-7)

Or the following word may designate the material of which something is made:

- בדין של כסף ("bars of silver", II 11; VII 10)

(32) In 4QMMT the spelling is sometimes שא. Cf. Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 68-69, 74-75; Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24.

(33) Cf. the index in Puech, "Le rouleau de cuivre", 169-227 at 219. Four cases where the possessive pronoun may be restored (VII 3.4.8; X 15) are not counted (even though the restoration of של is very plausible in VII 3.8, where in both instances the *lamed* is preserved. Cf. *ibid.*, 191.

In 3Q15 של is regularly followed by a determined noun—with the definite article, or a construct chain with a determined noun in the absolute state, or a toponym, which is determined in itself. This usage differs from that of MH where the noun is undetermined after של. (34)

### Verbs

3Q15 is basically a list of hidden treasures with descriptions of the various hiding-places. In fact, the document is also a series of commands directed at an addressee who is instructed to uncover the treasures. The format significantly limits the range of linguistic material found in the document. Evidence for the verbal system and, in general, for matters of syntax, is rather scant. (35)

The most extensively documented verbal form is חפור: The verb is followed by a measurement in cubits, indicating the distance from

(34) In manuscripts of the Mishna של is written in continuation with the following word, and the lamed is vocalized with *a* representing the article (but with elision of *he*): שלמֶלֶךְ. The graphic representation of של as an independent element separate from the following noun has often been assumed to be a medieval phenomenon, which led to the loss of the article (Kutscher, *A History*, 130). In 3Q15 (see in particular column XII where word division is most clearly visible) של does in fact seem to be intentionally separated from the following word, which is determined, either with the definite article (המעלה של השוח[ה] העליונה, “the step of the upper pit”, XII 4) or by virtue of being a toponym (בפי המבוע של בית שם, “at the mouth of the spring at Beth Sham”, XII 6). In the Bar Kochba letters we find at least one instance of של written independently and followed by the definite article (של הנאין, “belonging to the gentiles”, P.Yadin 51, 6 (Yigael Yadin, Jonas C. Greenfield, Ada Yardeni, and Baruch A. Levine, *The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters. Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University/Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum 2002, 296])).

(35) In XII 10 the word שכנה has been interpreted as the relative pronoun followed by a *qal* perfect feminine singular of כן (“which is situated”), cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 206. As noted by Puech, the second letter can be a *kaph* or a *beth*. I regard שבנה as the preferable reading (cf. Brizemeure, Lacoudre et Puech, *Le Rouleau de cuivre de la grotte 3 de Qumrân (3Q15). Expertise—Restauration—Épigraphie. Vol. II* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 55/II; Leiden: Brill, 2006), planches CCCXX and CCCLXXXI), and understand the word as the personal name “Shebna” (cf. Isa 22:15). A *qal* form of כן would be unattested in BH, QH, or MH. Al Wolters has suggested to read שית שכנה as “the cavern of the Shekinah”, with the implication that the divine presence, the Shekinah, in the eyes of the ancient author, “has been temporarily removed to an alternative sanctuary” (Al Wolters, “The Shekinah in the Copper Scroll. A New Reading of 3Q15 12.10”, in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures. Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 26/Roehampton Institute London Papers 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1997), 382-391 at 390.

the surface to a hidden treasure. The form may be read as an imperative (“dig X cubits!”) (36) or as a passive participle (“buried at X cubits”). (37)

Reading the form as an imperative would seem to accord well with the single occurrence of a finite verb in the jussive preceded by the negation **אל** and expressing a negative command: **אל תבקלם** (“do not destroy them!” VIII 3). (38)

Milik also interpreted the word **משה**, which occurs twice (VII 6; IX 1) as a *qal* imperative (“measure!”). (39) This is a possible interpretation, but the word may also be understood as a noun (“distance”). (40)

The active participle of **צפה** is used of locations or objects “facing” in a certain direction. The spelling is **צופא** (masculine or feminine form, cf. above on the orthography, VI 2, 8; VIII 10, 12; IX 4, 7; XI 5).

The active *qal* participle of **בוא** is attested in the feminine plural (spelt **הבואת**, I 2) and singular (**הבאה**, IV 3). Passive *qal* participle is attested for the following verbs: **סתום** (“sealed”, I 7), **חרת** (“engraved”, VIII 4), **רוי** (plural from the root **רוה**, “watered”, X 3). (41)

We have a *pual* participle of the verb **פגל**: **מפוגל** (“disqualified”, “made rejectable”, I 11), a verb attested in MH but not in BH.

A possible case of *hiphil* participle is **מדה** (II 3, “washer”, from **דוה**) with defective spelling. (42)

Infinitives and verbal nouns are used in a temporal sense: **בבואתך** (IV 3; XI 13), **בבואך** (X 5). This usage corresponds to BH rather than

(36) As maintained by Milik, DJD III.

(37) As held by Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”.

(38) This is the reading established by Puech (“Le rouleau de cuivre”, 193) over against Milik’s reading **תבס** (from the root **בוס**, “Ne te les approprie pas!” DJD III, 292-293, cf. 247). Puech’s earlier reading **תרקלם** (from **דקק**, “crush”, Puech, “Quelques résultats d’un nouvel examen du *Rouleau de cuivre* (3Q15)”, *Revue de Qumran* 70 (1997): 163-190 at 169) is also possible. Cf. the photo in DJD III (plate XLIII.1), and compare Brizemeure, Lacoudre et Puech, *Le Rouleau de cuivre II*, planches CCCXLVII and CCCLXXIII.

(39) Milik, DJD III, 235.

(40) Cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 191.

(41) **רוי** is the preferable reading in X 3, cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 198; Brizemeure, Lacoudre et Puech, planches CCCLI and CCCLXXVII. Milik (DJD III, 295) reads a *qal* perfect **רוי**. For reading **חרת** (VIII 4) as a passive participle, see Judah K. Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll (3Q15): A Reevaluation. A New Reading, Translation, and Commentary* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 25; Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2000), 254-257; Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 193. Milik (DJD III, 293, cf. 241) reads **חרה** and understands the *he* as a feminine suffix. He interprets the word as meaning the rocky part (“la partie abrupte”) of the valley.

(42) Puech considers the reading **מדה** (“tribute”) preferable, while not excluding either **מרה** or **מדה** as possible, although he finds the defective spelling of the participle unlikely (“Le rouleau de cuivre”, 183-184).



MH. A possible case of a *niphal* infinitive used as a noun is הכסה (XI 5, “scarp”). (43)

### Prepositions

The following prepositions occur: ב (123 times), תחת (20 times), מן (14 times), ל (10 times), אצל (6 times), על (5 times), נגד (twice), בין (IV 6). There is a considerable number of composite propositions: כל (XII 8), לתחת (X 15), מתחת (XI 2), מלמעלה (X 2), לפניהם (IX 12), בתך (5 times).

### Numerals

Numbers are expressed in two ways in the Copper Scroll: The text uses Hebrew numerals or a set of numerical symbols, which seem to follow a system documented in a wide variety of ancient texts including Qumran and Murabba'at texts, Elephantine and other ancient Aramaic documents, and Palestinian Jewish ossuary inscriptions. (44) When numerals rather than symbols are used, the usual order is for the noun (in the plural) to precede the numeral: אמות שש עסרה (“sixteen cubits”, II 6).

This differs from the construction prevailing in BH, where the noun (in the singular or the plural) follows the numeral: שבעים נפש (“seventy souls”, Exod 1:5), חמשים צדיקים (“fifty righteous”, Gen 18:24). The construction with a noun in the plural followed by a numeral also occurs in BH, in particular in what some scholars label “Late Biblical Hebrew” (השבעים ששים ושנים, “the sixty-two weeks”, Dan 9:26). (45) In MH and in QH generally the order is the same as in BH with the numeral preceding the noun (in the singular or in the plural): עשרים אמה (“twenty-two cubits”, m. Middot III 6b), ארבע אמות (“four cubits”, m. Middot IV 7a). (46)

There are a few exceptions from the usual order in 3Q15. We find—as in BH—the numeral followed by the noun in the singular: ארבעין [כ]ר (“forty talents”, I 14-15) and the numeral followed by the noun in the plural: בארבע רוחות (“at the four sides”, VII 5); שבע בדין (“seven bars”, IX 2-3, immediately followed by the prevailing construction: אסתרין ארבע (“four staters”). The word שנים generally precedes the noun: שני הכנין (“the two cavities”, IV 6); שני דודין

(43) Cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 202. Cf. note 59 on the reading.

(44) The numerals symbols are listed by Milik (DJD III, 317), and have been conveniently described by Lefkovits, *Copper Scroll*, 489. Cf. Bedman, *El Rollo de Cobre*, 228-229.

(45) Cf. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 85-86; Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräische Grammatik völlig umgearbeitet von E. Kautzsch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 454.

(46) Cf. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 85.

שתין, (‘‘two pots’’, IV 8); שני [ה]פתחין (‘‘(the) two openings’’, VI 1-2); זהב ככרין שתיים (‘‘two pits’’, IX 2). (47) We also, however, find אמות שתי (‘‘two talents of gold’’, VII 16); אמות שתי (‘‘two cubits’’, X 9).

The Temple Scroll has examples of the BH (and MH) order: שבועה שבועות (‘‘seven weeks’’, 11QTemple XIX 12), but the order prevailing in 3Q15 also occurs: כבשים בני שנה שבועה (‘‘seven male lambs a year old’’, 11QTemple XXV 13).

### 3. Vocabulary of the Copper Scroll

Several studies have been devoted to the vocabulary of the Copper Scroll. We should note, initially, that 3Q15 contains a number of lexemes which are obviously common to all known types of Hebrew: BH, QH, and MH.

#### *Nouns:*

דרך, דרום, דוד, גנה, גיא, גב, ברכה, בן, בית, בור, ארו, אצר, אדמה, אבן, כתב, כרם, כסף, כלי, כוס, כוהן, כל, יד, ים, ירד, חרם, חצר, חומה, זהב, הר, מערב, מעשר, מעלה, מעין, מנחה, מנה, מלכה, מלח, מים, מזרק, מבוע, לבוש, עצמוד, עם, ספר, סמל (= שמאל), סלע, נחל, משקל, משנה, משכן, משכב, מערה, שער, שן, שוחה, רחב, רוח, ראש, קול, קבר, צפון, צד, פתח, פנה, פה, עצמק (66)

#### *Adjectives:*

(7) שחור, רחוק, רב, קרוב, עליון, מלא, גדול

#### *Verbs:*

(7) רוה, צפה, סתם, כון, חפר, בקע, בוא

#### *Pronouns:*

(4) של, ש, זה, הוא

#### *Particles, prepositions:*

תחת, שם, מעל, על, עד, נגד, מלמעלה, מן, כ, בין, ב, אצל, אל, אחר, בתוך, מתחת, לתחת (17)

#### *Numerals:*

שלוש, עשר, תשע, מאה, ששין, שש, חמש, ארבע, שתיים, שנים, אחד, (14) שלישי, שני, שמונה

(47) For the reading חפורות in IX 2, cf. Puech, ‘‘Le rouleau de cuivre’’, 195.

A significant number of lexemes in 3Q15, however, occur only in some of the above-mentioned “types” of Hebrew (BH, QH, MH). The following list is, obviously, open to several objections. In some cases, the reading in 3Q15 is disputed, and different readings may yield different results with regard to the affiliation of words. (48) Included in the list are certain words which are attested in BH, QH, and/or MH with only one or very few occurrences in one of the categories, making it an extremely rare lexeme in that particular type of Hebrew (see numbers 10, 14, 22, 34, 81). A special case has been made of the Temple Scroll: Words which occur in 11QTemple but not elsewhere in QH are noted in the list as “Temple Scroll” (see numbers 3, 44, 45, 49, 50, 60, 61, 73, 74, 76, 89). “QH”, in other words, means here Qumran texts apart from 3Q15 and Temple Scroll.

- 1) **לֹאֵה** [א] (XI 14), “aloe”? This Greek loan word (ἄλότη) seems to be only orthographically different from MH (**אֵלוֹיִן**, **אֵלוֹה**) and distinct from BH **אֵהֲלוֹת/אֵהֲלִים**. (49)
- 2) **אִמָּה** (= **אִמָּה**, I 11; IV 3; V 1; VII 3; VIII 1). The meaning required in 3Q15 (“canal”, “dyke”, “sewer”) is attested in MH, not in BH or QH (The meaning “arm”, “cubit”, frequent also in 3Q15 and always in the plural form, is attested in BH, QH, and MH).
- 3) **אִמְצַע** (IV 7), “centre”, Temple Scroll (11Q19 XXX 9) and MH, not BH.
- 4) **אִכְסָדֶרֶן** (XI 3), “exedra”, “covered walkway” (ἐξέδρα), not BH or QH. MH has a slightly different form: **אִכְסָדְרָא**.
- 5) **אִסְטָאן** (XI 2), “portico”, “stoa” (στοά), a single occurrence in QH (4Q468x 1 (partly preserved), not BH or MH).
- 6) **אִסְתֵּר** (IX 3), “stater” (στατήρ). The word is feminine in 3Q15 (as the numeral **אַרְבַּע** shows), while the corresponding word in MH (**אִסְתִּיר**, **אִסְתֵּיר**) is masculine. Not BH or QH.
- 7) **אִפּוֹדֹת** (I 9), “ephods”, “priestly garments”, feminine form attested in QH (4Q365 12b iii 5) and MH. BH has the masculine form (**אִפּוֹד**), while the feminine form (**אִפּוֹדָה**, Exod 28:8; 39:5; Isa 30:22) has a special meaning (“close-fitting covering”) in BH.

(48) The overall statistical results, however, should remain valid even if some specific readings are disputed. The list is based on Puech’s 2006 edition (“Le rouleau de cuivre”). I do not list all the readings that have been suggested, but attempt to fairly note important uncertainties.

(49) Milik reads **לֹאֵה**, which he understands as “graphie particulière” for ἄλότη (Milik, DJD III, 251, 297). It is possible, however, to read **לֹאֵה** [א], as shown by Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 204. Cf. Brizemeure, Lacoudre et Puech, *Le Rouleau de cuivre II*, planches XCIX and XI. The form found in BH (**אֵהֲלוֹת/אֵהֲלִים**) probably represents an older, independent loan, cf. Milik, DJD III, 251.

- 8) אשׁוּה / אשׁוּה (V 6; VII 4; X 5; XI 12 *bis*), “cistern”, “pool”, not BH, QH or MH (but in the Mesha stele (lines 9 and 23) and Ben Sira 50:3). (50)
- 9) בִּדְן (II 11; VII 10; IX 3), “bars”. In 3Q15 the word is feminine, as the accompanying numerals (שׁשׁ II 11; VII 10) show. (51) The singular (not attested) could be reconstructed as בִּדָּה (apparently with the specific meaning “bar of (precious) metal”). BH and MH know the masculine form with the meaning “pole”, “bar”.
- 10) בִּיָּאָה / בִּיָּאָה (II 12; III 9; IV 3; V 13; XI 13; XII 1), “coming”, “arrival”, “entrance”, attested once in BH (Ezek 8:5), 11 occurrences in QH outside 3Q15, frequent in MH.
- 11) בִּיבָּא (XII 8), “pipe”, “gutter”, “canal”, not attested in either BH or QH, MH has the masculine form בִּיב with a similar meaning.
- 12) דוּחַ (II 3, *hiphil* participle מִדַּח), “wash”, BH and MH, not QH. (52)
- 13) דִּיאַט (III 1, reading of first letter uncertain), “upper chamber”, “arbitrator’s office”, “tribunal”. MH (דִּיטַט, דִּיטַט, דִּיטַט), not BH or QH. (53)
- 14) דַּמַּע (I 9, 10; III 3, 9; V 7; VIII 3; XI 1, 4 (*bis*), 10 (*bis*), 14 (*bis*); XII 7), one occurrence in BH (Exod 22:28), two in QH (4Q251 9,3 and 4Q524 6-13 7 (partly restored)), frequent in MH.
- 15) דַּרומִי (III 1-2; XI 2), “southern”, MH, not BH or QH.
- 16) זֶרֶב (IX 8), “channel”, “pond”, not BH, QH, or MH.
- 17) חִבְלָה (IX 4), “district” (“terrace”?), MH, not BH or QH. (54)
- 18) חִיצוֹן (VIII 4, in the feminine: בְּנֵי הַחִיצוֹנָא, “in the outer valley”), “outer”, “exterior”, BH and Temple Scroll (6 occurrences). MH has the form חִיצוֹנִי (feminine חִיצוֹנִית).
- 19) חִלְיָא (I 7), “circular wall”, MH (חִלְיָא, חִלְיָא), not BH or QH.
- 20) חִפּוּרָה (IX 2), “pit”, MH, not BH or QH. (55)
- 21) חֲרִיץ (V 8), “trench”, MH, not BH (חֲרִיץ 1 Sam 17:18 = “slice”, “portion”) or QH.

(50) Cf. Bedman, *El Rollo de Cobre*, 343-344.

(51) Cf. Milik, DJD III, 233, 250.

(52) On the reading and interpretation, cf. note 42 above.

(53) The *daleth* is not readable. Milik (DJD III, 273, 287) translates “dans le Parvi[s du péril]bole” and mentions that the name of the “périlbole du sanctuaire” was probably a Greek loanword. His transcription is based on letter remains on a small fragment for which no photo or drawing exists (DJD III, 212, 287). Puech (“Le rouleau de cuivre”, 185) suggests the reading דִּיאַט, Greek δῖαυτα (without the final vowel), and we follow his suggestion here.

(54) The reading חִבְלָה is superior to Milik’s reading תְּכֵלֶת (DJD III, 293, cf. 268) and Allegro’s חִבְלָה (*Treasure*, 49, 157) in IX 4. Puech (“Le rouleau de cuivre”, 195) points to a cognate word in Sabea fort he meaning “terrace”.

(55) Milik (DJD III, 293) reads חִפּוּרָה, but cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 195.

- 22) חרת (VIII 4), “engrave”, one occurrence in BH (Exod 32:16) frequent in QH, MH. (56)
- 23) טבילה (I 12) “immersion”, “purification”, MH, not BH or QH.
- 24) טור (VII 15), “row of stones”? “platform”? “base of wall”? BH, QH (meaning “row”), MH (meaning “mountain”).
- 25) טיף (XI 17), “platform”, MH, not BH or QH.
- 26) יגר (IV 13; VI 14; VIII 8), “heap of stones”, MH, not BH (occurs in Gen 31:47 as an Aramaic word) or QH.
- 27) ימומית (XI 13), “smallest reservoir”, not BH, QH, or MH.
- 28) יציאה (VII 14), “exit”, “(water) outlet”, MH (“going out”, not the specific sense of “water outlet”), not BH or QH.
- 29) ירידה (I 13, X 1), “descent”, MH, not BH or QH.
- 30) כוז (XII 2), “juglet”, “(oil) vessel”, MH, not BH or QH.
- 31) כוך (XII 3), “burial chamber”, MH, not BH or QH.
- 32) כופר (X 11), “bowl”, BH and MH (כפור, the form in 3Q15 may be considered an orthographic variant), not QH. (57)
- 33) כינה (IV 6), “cavity”, “chamber”, MH, not BH or QH. (58)
- 34) ככר (I 4, 8, 15; II 2, 6, 9, 15; VIII 7, 16; X 7, 10; XII 1, 3, 7, 9), “talent”, BH, MH, two occurrences in QH outside 3Q15 (4QOrdinances (4Q159) 1 ii 8 *bis*), one in the Temple Scroll (11Q19 IX 11)).
- 35) כנא (VI 7 = כנה), “base”, “stand”, MH (BH and QH כן [CD VII 17; 11Q21 1,2]).
- 36) כפה (IX 11), “arch”, “curve”, MH, not BH or QH.
- 37) כסח (XI 5), “scarp”? (*nifal* infinitive of כסה?), verb attested in BH and MH, not in QH. (59)
- 38) לגין (I 9), “flask”, “small vessel”, MH, not BH or QH. (60)
- 39) מבא (XI 16), “entrance”, BH and QH (MH form: מברי).
- 40) מגזה (VI 14), “ford”, “pass”, Aramaic word, not BH, QH or MH.

(56) For reading חרת as a passive participle, cf. note 41 above.

(57) Cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 199. כופרין could also be understood as an adjective of the form כופרי (not attested elsewhere).

(58) The first letter can be read as either *kaph* or *beth*. Milik (DJD III, 242, 288-289), followed by Bedman (*El Rollo de Cobre*, 284-285) reads בינין, “tamarisks”. Allegro (*The Treasure*, 39, 143) reads הבתין, “buidlings”. Cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 187. The reading corresponds to the feminine singular suffix (באמצען) in the following line.

(59) Cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 202. There is a slight difficulty in the *nifal* being unattested elsewhere. Lefkovits (*Copper Scroll*, 371), followed by Bedman (*El Rollo de Cobre*, 279-289), prefers the reading תבוסה “pressing”, the amount of earth which is pressed down by a dead body and considered the dead man’s property (MH, one occurrence in BH [2 Chron 22:7, meaning “downtreading”]). Milik (DJD III, 296, cf. 247) reads הבסה, which he considers a synonym for the MH term.

(60) Milik (DJD III, 251) understands the word as בלגין = “sandal tree”, but cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 181. לגין is a Greek loan, cf. below.

- 41) מִדָּף (III 12-13), “trap?” “ossuary cover?” MH (“indirect contact”, “uncleanness of minor degree”), not BH or QH.
- 42) מִזְקָה (II 9; X 3), “channel” (cf. Aramaic מִזְיקָתָא), not BH, QH, or MH.
- 43) מִזְרָחִי (II 7; III 5-6; IV 11; VII 12), “eastern”, MH, QH (11Q20 X 6), not BH.
- 44) מִנְקִית (III 3), “sacrificial bowl” BH, MH and Temple Scroll (11Q19 III 12; XII 15), not QH.
- 45) מִסְבָּא (I 13), “winding staircase”(= מִסְבָּה), MH and Temple Scroll (11Q19 XXX 4, 5; XXXI 8; XLII 8), not QH or BH. (61)
- 46) מִסְמָא (XI 6), “cover”, “lid”, MH, not BH or QH.
- 47) מִעֲרָבִי (III 10; VI 12; X 13; XI 16), “western”, MH, not BH or QH.
- 48) מִצְדָּ (IX 17) “stronghold”, BH, not QH (MH: מִצְדָּה). The Bar Kochba letters have the toponym מִצְדָּנָא חֲסִידִים once (Murabbaʿat Papyrus 45, 6).
- 49) מִקְצוֹעַ (II 13; XI 1) “corner”, “angle”, BH, MH and Temple Scroll (9 occurrences), not QH.
- 50) מִקְרָה (I 12, VII 8), “frigidarium”, “ceiling?”, BH and Temple Scroll, not QH or MH. (62)
- 51) מִשָּׁה (VII 6; IX 1), “measure” (verb or noun?), not BH or QH, verb attested in MH, noun in Aramaic (מִשְׁחָה, plural מִשְׁחָתֵיהֶם XII 12 is attested in BH, MH, not QH). (63)
- 52) מִשְׁטוּחַ (VII 11), “spreading place”, BH, not QH or MH (MH has מִשְׁטִיחַ).
- 53) נִדְבָךְ (I 5) “course, layer of bricks”, MH, not BH or QH.
- 54) נִפְשָׁ (I 15), “tomb”, “sepulchral monument”, MH, this meaning not attested in BH or QH.
- 55) סָב (XI 8), “collonades”(?), not in BH, QH, or MH. Milik points to MH הִסְבֵּב (Middot II 1, “a sort of gallery around the altar for the priest to walk on”). (64)
- 56) סִדֵּק (V 5), “crack”, “split”, MH, not BH or QH.

(61) Cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 182-183, and Brizemeure, Lacoudre et Puech, *Le Rouleau de cuivre II*, planche CCCLIX. Milik (DJD III; 284, cf. 259) reads מִעֲבָא.

(62) In I 12 Milik (DJD III, 284, cf. 241) reads נִיקְרָת, but מִקְרָת is the correct reading, as shown by Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 182. In VII 8 Milik’s reading is בִּקְרָנָא (DJD III, 291), but reading הַמִּקְרָנָה is preferable, cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 191.

(63) On the form of the word, cf. notes 39-40 above.

(64) Milik, DJD III, 273. Cf. Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, Vol. II (New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1950), 960.

- 57) סוּחַ (XI 4, 10), “pine tree”, not BH, QH or MH. Cf. Aramaic סוּחַא in the Aramaic TestLevi fragments from the Cairo Geniza. (65)
- 58) סִירָא (XI 14), “thorn bush?”, “white pine?” (= סִירָה), MH (BH סִירִים), not QH.
- 59) סִנָּה (XI 4,10), “thorn”, “thorn bush”(?), BH and MH, not QH. The meaning in 3Q15, however, seems to be different (“cassia tree”). (66)
- 60) סָף (II 12; XII 2), “threshold”, BH, MH, 3Q15 and Temple Scroll (11Q19 XXXVI 9), not QH.
- 61) עֲלִיָּאָה (X 1), “upper chamber”, BH, MH, 3Q15 and Temple Scroll (11Q19 VI 6; XXXI, 6, 7), not QH.
- 62) עֶשֶׂת (I 5; II 4), “metal bar”, BH (only Cant 5:14), MH, not QH.
- 63) פָּגַל (I 11), “disqualify”, MH, not BH or QH. (67)
- 64) פְּרוּט (XII 12), “explanation”, “inventory”, not BH, QH or MH (MH has the noun פֶּרֶט).
- 65) פְּרוּשׁ (XII 12), “explanation”, “commentary”, QH, MH, not BH.
- 66) פֶּרֶסְטִילֹן (I 7), “peristyle”, not BH, QH, or MH.
- 67) צוֹק (VIII 8; IX 14), “gorge”, “narrow pass”, MH, not BH (Dan 9:25 has צוֹק = “oppression”) or QH.
- 68) צְחִיָּאָה (IX 15), “dry, rocky land”, not in BH or QH. MH has צְחִיָּה (“dryness”).
- 69) צָפוּנִי (II 14; VI 3; VII 4), “northern”, once in BH (Joel 2:20), MH, not in QH.
- 70) צָרִיחַ (II 5; VIII 11, 14; IX 4, 7; X 8), “underground chamber”, BH (Jud 9:46.49; 1 Sam 13:6), not MH or QH. (68)

(65) Cf. Milik, DJD III, 251; Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 201. Bedman (“Los términos סוּחַ y סִנָּה en el Rollo de Cobre (3Q15)”, *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos: Sección Hebreo* 45 (1996) (27-35): 29-31; cf. Bedman, *El Rollo de Cobre*, 194-196) has proposed to read סוּחַ as an orthographic variant of the MH word סִיעָה (“followers”, with elision of the guttural). Bedman holds that סִיעָה should be understood in conjunction with the word סִנָּה, which he interprets as a variant for סִנָּא (“adversaries”). Both the reading and the interpretation of XI 4 (“tithe of followers and tithe of adversaries”) seem unlikely, cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 201-202, note 428.

(66) Bedman (“Los términos סוּחַ y סִנָּה”, 23-13; cf. Bedman, *El Rollo de Cobre*, 194-196) understands the word as סִנָּא (“adversaries”). Cf. Note 55 above.

(67) Milik reads מִפִּי גֵל (DJD III, 284). The reading, however, is definitely מִפּוֹגֵל, as suggested by Al Wolters, “The Copper Scroll and the Vocabulary of Mishnaic Hebrew”, *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1990): 483-495 at 493 (with reference to Michael Wise). Cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 182, with note 129, and cf. Brizemeure, Lacoudre et Puech, *Le Rouleau de cuivre II*, planches CCCXXXIII and CCCXXXIV.

(68) In VIII 14 the material reading seems to be צָרִיחַ, but *waw* and *resh* sometimes interchange in the writing of 3Q15. Cf. Puech, “le rouleau de cuivre”, 194.



- 71) קומעה (IX 10), “hole” (?), not BH, QH, or MH. (69)  
 72) קלל (VI 4), “vessel”, “urn”, MH, not BH, QH.  
 73) קסוה (III 4), “jar”, BH, MH, and Temple Scroll (11Q19 XXXIII 13), not QH.  
 74) קרקע (I 7), “floor”, BH and MH, once in Temple Scroll (11Q19 XLIX 12).  
 75) רגב (V 9; VI 8), “stone”, “boulder” (?), BH, not QH or MH (cf. Aramaic רגבא). (70)  
 76) רובד (II 3; XI 16), “terrace”, MH, and Temple Scroll (11Q19 IV 4.5; XLVI 5), not BH or QH. (71)  
 77) רוה (VIII 14), “watered”, “irrigated”, BH, not QH. MH has a different meaning (רוי = “drunk”).  
 78) שדא (I 3; XII 5), “box”, “chest” (= שידה), MH (cf. BH שדה ושדות Qoh 2:8, but with a different meaning?), not QH.  
 79) שוא (I 13), “hole”, not attested in BH (but cf. the feminine noun שואה, which the ancient versions understand as meaning “pit” or the like in Ps 35:8 (parallel to שחת Ps 35:7), QH, or MH. (72)  
 80) שובך (IX 1.17), “dovecote”, MH, not BH or QH.  
 81) שול (I 11; IV 9; IX 1; XI 7, “edge”, BH (“skirt”, “lowest hem of garment”), MH, one occurrence in QH (4Q169 3-4 ii 11-12 [quotation from Nah 3:5]).  
 82) שטה (XI 9), “spread out” (?), BH, MH, not QH. (73)  
 83) שית (III 8; IV 9, 11; IX 14; XII 10), “pit”, MH, not BH or QH. (74)  
 84) שלף (VIII 10), “unploughed land”, MH, not BH or QH.  
 85) שעה (IX 2), “rock”, not BH, QH, or MH.  
 86) שקת (X 16), “through”, “water outlet”, BH (Gen 24:20; 30:38), MH, not QH.

(69) Milik (DJD III, 294) corrects the reading to קובעה, which he interprets as a toponym. Puech (“Le rouleau de cuivre”, 196-197) retains the reading קומעה, and points to Hebrew גומץ (Qoh 10:8) and Aramaic גומצא as possible cognates.

(70) Milik (DJD III, 289-290) reads רגב in both cases. But cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 189.

(71) In II 3 Milik reads דיבר (“pièce du fond”, “réduit”, DJD III, 286, cf. 239), but the correct reading is רובד, as most scholars agree, cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 184; cf. Brizemeure, Lacoudre et Puech, *Le Rouleau de cuivre II*, planches CCCXXXV and CCCLXI. In XI 16 the word can be partly restored. Read ברין[בד] rather than דין[רת] (Milik, DJD III, 297). Cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 204.

(72) Cf. Milik, DJD III, 241, Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 182.

(73) The reading proposed by Puech (“Le rouleau de cuivre”, 200, 203, followed here) is הטה ירחי. Milik (DJD III, 296) reads בקבר בני העבט הירחי.

(74) In XII 4 Milik (DJD III, 298) also reads שית, but Puech’s reading (שוחה, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 204-205) is preferable.

- 87) תחורם (IX 17), “district”, “area”, MH, one instance in a Qumran ostrakon (KhQ1 6), not BH or elsewhere in QH. (75)  
 88) תכן (V 7; XI 1, 4, 11, 15), “quantity”, “reckoning”, BH (Exod 5:18; Ezek 45.11), not QH or MH.  
 89) תל (I 9), BH, MH, once in the Temple Scroll (11QTemple LV 9), not QH.

The list comprises 90 lexemes. Their distribution is as follows:

3Q15 and MH only:

32 lexemes (2, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 41, 46, 47, 53, 54, 56, 58, 63, 67, 72, 78, 80, 83, 84)

Peculiar to 3Q15:

11 lexemes (1, 16, 27, 40, 42, 55, 57, 66, 71, 79, 85)

3Q15, BH, MH, and Temple Scroll:

7 lexemes (44, 49, 60, 61, 73, 74, 89)

3Q15, BH, and MH:

7 lexemes (12, 32, 37, 59, 81, 82, 86)

3Q15 and BH only:

5 lexemes (52, 70, 75, 77, 88)

Peculiar to 3Q15, with similar but not identical form in MH (no attestation in BH or QH):

6 lexemes (4, 6, 11, 51, 64, 68)

3Q15, MH, and Temple Scroll:

4 lexemes (3, 43, 45, 76)

3Q15, QH, and MH:

2 lexemes (7, 65)

3Q15, BH, and QH:

2 lexemes (24, 39)

3Q15, MH, QH, only one occurrence in BH

2 lexemes (10, 22)

3Q15, BH, MH, only one or very few occurrences in QH:

2 lexemes (34, 87)

3Q15, MH, only one occurrence in BH:

2 lexemes (62, 69)

(75) The word is partly restored. Milik (DJD III, 294) reads ה[מים], but Puech's reading (בתח[ו]) is preferable. Cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 194.

3Q15, BH, and Temple Scroll:

2 lexemes (18, 50)

3Q15, MH, one occurrence in BH, two in QH:

1 lexeme (14)

Peculiar to 3Q15, similar but not identical form in MH and BH (no attestation in QH):

1 lexeme (9)

3Q15, BH, and Bar Kochba letters:

1 lexeme (48)

3Q15, Mesha stele, and Ben Sira:

1 lexeme (8)

3Q15, only one occurrence in QH:

1 lexeme (5)

If we attempt a systematization of our findings, we may note that the largest group consists of lexemes shared exclusively by 3Q15 and MH texts (33). To this group we could meaningfully add the 6 lexemes (4, 6, 11, 51, 64, 68) that are peculiar to 3Q15, but occur in similar (but not identical) forms in MH. This would raise the number of shared lexemes (3Q15 and MH) to 39.

If we add also the four lexemes (3, 43, 45, 76) shared by 3Q15, MH, and the Temple Scroll, we arrive at a total of 43.

It is interesting to note that five lexemes are shared by 3Q15 and BH alone, and there are quite many (20) which 3Q15 shares with BH and one or two of the other groups. By contrast, there are only one lexeme (5, with only one occurrence in QH) shared exclusively by 3Q15 and QH.

*Vocabulary shared by 3Q15 and MH (as distinct from BH and QH)?*

These findings confirm the impression already noted by many scholars that a significant part of the vocabulary of the Copper Scroll is shared with MH sources and not with any of the other types of Hebrew (BH and QH).

Against this background, it is noteworthy to enquire whether this has to do, primarily, with the genre and contents of the texts. Does 3Q15 happen to describe things which are also of interest in MH texts, and which are for some reason or other not mentioned in the Bible or in Qumran texts, or do these texts have alternative expressions which are used instead of the lexemes employed in 3Q15 or MH? In the following, we shall attempt an overview focusing on those lexemes we found were shared only by 3Q15 and MH:

	3Q15 and MH	BH	QH
2)	אמא (אמה) meaning “canal”	נהר, תעלה	תעלה
6)	אסתירא (אסתירא), “staters” (coin)	–	–
13)	דיאט, “upper chamber”	עליה	עליה (76)
15)	דרומי, “southern”	ימני	–
17)	חבלה, “district”	מדינה	מדינה (77)
19)	חליא, “circular wall”	–	–
20)	חפורה, “pit”	שחת, בור	שחת, בור
21)	חריץ, “trench”	–	–
23)	טבילה, “immersion”	–	–
25)	טף, “platform”	–	–
26)	יגר, “heap of stones”	גל (אבנים)	–
28)	יציאה, “exit”, “outlet”	מוצא	מוצא
29)	ירידה, “descent”	מורד	מורד (78)
30)	כוח, “juglet”	כוס	כוס
31)	כוח, “burial chamber”	צריח, קבורה, קבר	קבורה, קבר
33)	כינה, “cavity”, “chamber”	צריח, מערה, חור	חור (79)
35)	כנא (כנה), “base”, “stand”	כן	כן
36)	כפה, “arch”, “curve”	–	–
38)	לוג, “flask”	–	–
41)	מדף, “ossuary cover”	–	–
46)	מסמא, “cover”, “lid”	ככר, דלת	–
47)	מערבי, “western”	–	–
53)	גדבק, “layer (of bricks)”	–	–
54)	נפש meaning “tomb”	קבורה, קבר	קבורה, קבר
56)	סדק, “crack”, “split”	פרץ, בקיע	פרץ, בקיע (80)
58)	סירא (סירה), “thorn bush”	סיר	–
63)	פנל, “disqualify”	–	–
67)	צוק, “narrow pass”	מעלה?	–
72)	קלל, “vessel”, “urn”	–	–
78)	שדא (שידה), “box”, “chest”	תבה?	–
80)	שובך, “dovecote”	–	–
83)	שית, “pit”	שחת, בור	שחת, בור
84)	שלף, “unploughed land”	–	–

(76) Three occurrences in QH, all in the Temple Scroll (11Q19 VI 6; XXXI 6.7).

(77) Two occurrences in 4QInstruction (4Q416 1 5; 4Q418 1 2).

(78) One occurrence in QH (1QH<sup>a</sup> XII 34).

(79) One occurrence outside 3Q15 in a quotation from Nahum (4Q169 3-4 i 6 (Nah 2:13)).

(80) One occurrence in QH (4Q385 6 4)

Out of the 33 lexemes shared exclusively by 3Q15 and MH, 19 (17) have distinct synonyms in BH, and 13 have counterparts in both BH and MH. Those lexemes which have no synonyms in BH and MH, are to a large extent specific architectural expressions (19, 25, 36, 41, 53, 80), while two relate specifically to matters of cultic purity/impurity (23, 63).

Even if we narrow down the group of lexemes to those for which we can document alternative ways of expression in BH and QH, this group still constitutes the largest block within the material.

We may note that some of the differences between 3Q15/MH on the one hand and BH/QH on the other are systematic: World orientation in BH and QH is usually expressed by means of a construct chain with a noun of direction (דרום, מערב), while the adjectives of direction (דרומי, מערבי) are more common in 3Q15 and MH. Likewise, in the construction of certain verbal nouns the dominant pattern of formation seems to be מוצא, מורד (from יצא, ירד) in BH and QH, and יציאה, ירידה in 3Q15 and MH.

### *Greek loan words*

We note the occurrence of seven Greek loan words in the Copper Scroll: אלאה ([ἀλόη?], XI 14), אכסדרן (ἑξέδρα, XI 3), אסטאן (στοά, XI 2), אסתר (στατήρ, IX 3), דיאט (δίαιτα, III 1), לגין (λάγυνος, I 9), פרסטלין (περιστύλιον, I 7). (81) Four of these words are shared with MH alone (אלאה, אכסדרן, אסתר, דיאט). One is peculiar to 3Q15 (פרסטלין), and one shared only with QH (אסטאן). Frequent occurrence of Greek loans is a feature characteristic of MH, while such loans are virtually absent from BH and QH. (82) A peculiar feature of the Copper Scroll is the occurrence of Greek characters found at the end of entries in columns I-IV. Though these letters have never been satisfactorily explained, they are not relevant for a description of the scroll's Hebrew. (83)

(81) Milik (DJD III, 248, 284) reads פרסטלין and regards the word as a diminutive (περιστύλιον), but cf. Puech, "Le rouleau de cuivre", 180. The word לבושין III 9 (read by Milik (DJD III, 287-288) as לכושי ("résines de pin d'Alep") and by Allegro (*The Treasure*, 37, 142) as (לבוהשין) is understood by Bedman (*El Rollo de Cobre*, 334-335, following a suggestion by Puech, "Quelques résultats d'un nouvel examen du Rouleau de cuivre (3Q15)", *Revue de Qumran* 18 (1996-1997) (163-190), 172) as לבישין, representing Greek λέβης, "cauldron", "urn", "vase", but cf. Puech, "Le rouleau de cuivre", 186, and Brizemeure, Lacoudre et Puech, *Le Rouleau de cuivre II*, planche CCCLXIII.

(82) Cf. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 117; Kutscher, *A History*, 137-139, Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 201.

(83) See most recently Matthew Richey, "The Use of Greek at Qumran: Manuscript and Epigraphic Evidence for a Marginalized Language", *Dead Sea Discoveries* 19 (2012): 177-197 at 189-195.

### 3. Expressions denoting direction

P. Muchowski has carried out a study of one particular linguistic aspect of 3Q15, phrases denoting directions of the world, and compared the constructions and vocabulary used in 3Q15 with functionally similar constructions in BH, contemporary Hebrew and Aramaic texts, and MH. (84)

Muchowski lists a number of different ways in which the notion of direction is expressed in 3Q15:

- a) We find the preposition **מן** followed by a determined noun denoting the direction:

**מן הצפון** ("from the north", I 11; V 2), **מן המזרח** ("from the east", II 10), **מן הערב** ("from the west", XII 1). This construction is common to all the varieties of Hebrew.

- b) Another means of expressing direction is the use of the prepositions **ל** or **ב**, followed by an undetermined noun denoting direction. This noun may have a pronominal suffix, or stand in *status constructus*-relation to a following word:

**דרום** ("to the south", VIII 11), **בצפוניו** ("to its north", III 8; IV 2), **במזרח כחלת** ("to the east of Kohlit", II 13), **בצפון כחלת** ("to the north of Kohlit", IV 11-12; XII 10), **בצפון פי צוק של בית תמר** ("to the north of the narrow pass of Beth-Tamar", IX 14-15).

This construction occurs in Qumran texts and in the Mishna, but not in the Bar Kokhba texts.

- c) The Copper Scroll has a parallel construction without the initial preposition:

**דרום** ("on the south", X 1), **צפון** ("on the north", XII 10), **מזרח** **אשוח שלומו** ("to the east of Solomon's reservoir", V 5-6), **מזרח בית** **האוצר** ("to the east of the house of treasure", VIII 1-2), **מזרח אחיה** ("to the east of {Ahiyah?})", VIII 2).

This expression is common to the Copper Scroll and the Murabba'at texts (14 occurrences) but occurs only very rarely in the Mishna (once) or in the Qumran texts in Hebrew (once in the Temple Scroll [11QTemple XXXI 10]).

- d) Direction may also be expressed using the active participle of the verb **צפה** ("facing", "looking towards") followed by a noun denoting direction (with or without preposition):

**צופא מזרח** ("facing east", VI 2; IX 4-5), **צופא למזרח** ("facing east", VI 8-9), **צופא מערב** ("facing west", VIII 10-11), **צופא צפון** ("facing north", VIII 12), **צופא דרום** ("facing south", IX 7).

This construction, according to Muchowski, is not documented in any other source, although he points to the comparable use of the verb **צפה** in Cant 7:5 (**כמגדל הלבנון צופה פני דמשק**), “like a tower of Lebanon, overlooking Damascus”). In MH a phrase with **ל פתוח** (“open to”) appears: **שפתחה של עליה פתוח לדרום** (“for the entrance of the upper chamber was open to the south”, m. Middot IV 5a). (85)

It should be noted, however, as a supplement to Muchowski, that in BH we find a formally very similar construction with the verb **פנה** (“turn to”, “face”) in the *qal* participle (e.g. **שער אשר פנה דרך קדם** (“the gate facing east”, Ezek 43:1). See further below.

- e) According to Muchowski, intermediate direction is expressed in 3Q15 by means of two nouns of direction. He quotes 3Q15 III 11-12: **מזרחו בצפון** (“on its north-eastern side”). However, the correct reading here is actually **ממזרחו בצפון** (with the preposition **מן**). (86) We have, accordingly, a juxtaposition of two directional terms: “from its east side on the north”. A similar construction is found in VIII 10-11: **הצופא מערב בדרום** (“facing west, in the southern part”).

The Temple Scroll has a double construction for intermediate direction with two nouns of direction forming a construct chain: **במערב צפוני** (“on its northwest”, XXX 7), **נגב מזרח** (“in the southeast”, XXXI 10), **מן פנה למזרח צפון** (“from the north-eastern corner”, XXXIX 14), **לצפון המערב לעיר** (“to the northwest of the city”). By contrast, in MH we find two nouns of direction juxtaposed (not in the *status constructus*). (87)

On the basis of this survey Muchowski concludes that the system of denoting directions found on the Copper Scroll differs from that of MH in the following three respects: 1) The construction without prepositions. 2) The phrase with the verb **צפה**. 3) The construction of phrases denoting intermediate direction. From these linguistic data Muchowski infers that the language of 3Q15 cannot be identified with classical MH. The variety of MH closest to the Copper Scroll is the language of the Bar Kokhba texts. (88)

(85) Muchowski, “Language of the Copper Scroll”, 323.

(86) Cf. Puech, “Le rouleau de cuivre”, 186. Muchowski (“Language of the Copper Scroll”, 324) maintains that the first *mem* should be read as belonging to the preceding toponym (**מלה**, read by Muchowski as **מלחם**).

(87) Muchowski, “Language of the Copper Scroll”, 324-325.

(88) Muchowski, “Language of the Copper Scroll”, 325-326.



The type of analysis undertaken by Muchowski does indeed seem promising, since it focuses on one of the (admittedly rather few) syntactical features of 3Q15 which may actually be described and compared with other sources. Expanding the base for comparison in relation to Muchowski's study, we shall examine ways in which certain groups of texts express world directions. We have chosen, on the one hand, three biblical texts, the geographical description of the tribal areas in Joshua 15, the description of the desert sanctuary laid out in Exod 26-27, and the description of the future temple in Ezek 40, texts that share a catalogue-like quality and structure with some affinity to 3Q15, and, on the other hand, the temple descriptions found in the Temple Scroll from Qumran and in the Mishna tractate Middot.

The description of directional terms in 3Q15 needs, however, to be further supplemented. First of all, one aspect of considerable importance for our comparison is the preference found in 3Q15 for adjectives denoting direction: **השער המזרחי** ("the eastern gate", II 7). This constitutes a common way to express world orientation in 3Q15 (with 14 occurrences of the adjectives **דרומי**, **מזרחי**, **מערבי**, and **צפוני**). (89)

By contrast, the only adjective of direction extant in BH is **צפוני** with a single occurrence in Joel 2:20 (where the text has been disputed). Apart from a single occurrence in the Temple Scroll (11Q20 X 6, see below) the adjectives are not attested in QH or Bar Kochba texts. In MH, on the other hand, they are frequently used.

### *Directions in BH*

- a) Joshua 15 describes the areas allotted to the Israelite tribes following the conquest of Cana'an. The borders of the designated areas are defined according to the four directions: The notion of the "south boundary" of a tribe is expressed through a construct chain with the noun denoting direction (**נגב**) in the absolute state:

**נגב** ויהי להם גבול נגב ("And their south boundary ran..." 15:2)

**נגב** זה יהיה לכם גבול נגב ("This shall be your south boundary", 15:4).

Likewise, the term "east boundary" is **נגבול קדמה** 15:5, with the locative *-a*). The expression may be expanded by the word **פאה** ("side"): **גבול לפאה צפונה** ("boundary on the north side", 15:5).

The position "to the east of" a locality is expressed by means of a preposition and noun:

**לנחל** אשר מנגב ("which is on the south side of the valley" 15:7).

(89) II 7.14; III 1-2.5-6.10; IV 11; VI 3.12; VII 4.12; IX 17-X 1; X 13; XI 2.16

The orientation of a locality towards a certain direction may be expressed by means of a participle (of the verb פנה, *qal*: “turn towards”, “face”):

מִן הַלְשׁוֹן הַפְּנֵה נֹגְבָה (“from the bay that faces southward”, 15:2).

A “southern” position in absolute or general terms is expressed by means of preposition and noun of direction:

אֶל כְּתֵף הַיְּבוּסִי מִנֹּגֵב הִיא יְרוּשָׁלַם (“at the southern shoulder of the Jeb’usite, that is, Jerusalem”, 15:8)

Alternatively, the noun alone is used with the locative ending *-a*:

אֲשֶׁר בִּקְצֵה עֲמֻק רִפְאִים צִפְּהָ (“which is at the northern end of the valley of Repha’im”, 15:8)

- b) In the description of the sanctuary lined out in Exod 26-27 the noun פֶּאֶה (“side”) is used in combination with the noun denoting direction at the end of a construct chain (as in Joshua 15). The construction may be introduced by the proposition ל:

לְפָאֵת צִפּוֹן (“on the north side”, 26:20; 27:11), לְפָאֵת יָם (“on the west side”, 27:12).

The noun of direction may be expanded with the locative *-a*:

לְפָאֵת קִדְמָה (“on the front to the east”, 27:13).

The construct chain may be expanded with a further noun with locative *-a*:

לְפָאֵת נֹגֵב תִּמְנָה (“on the south side”, 27:9)

Or both nouns may have this ending:

לְפָאֵת נֹגְבָה תִּמְנָה (“for the south side”, 26:18). No particular difference in meaning seems to be at stake here.

- c) In Ezekiel 40 notions of direction are associated with elements of the temple structure by means of construct chains, not adjectives:

שַׁעַר הַדְּרוֹם (“the south gate”, 40:28), שַׁעַר הַצִּפוֹן (“the north gate”, 40:35).

The noun דֶּרֶךְ (“road”, “direction”) may be used:

שַׁעַר דֶּרֶךְ הַדְּרוֹם (“a gate on the south”, 40:24).

An apposition may replace the construct chain:

הַשַּׁעַר דֶּרֶךְ הַקִּדְמִים (“the east gate”, 40:10).

The noun of direction may have the locative *-a*:

לְפֶתַח הַשַּׁעַר הַצִּפוֹנִי (“at the entrance of the north gate”, 40:40).

We also find a construction with the verb פנה:

שַׁעַר אֲשֶׁר פָּנָה דֶּרֶךְ הַקִּדְמִים (“the gate facing east”, 43:1). Cf. שַׁעַר הַמִּקְדָּשׁ הַצֶּהָן הַפְּנֵה קִדְמִים (“the outer gate of the sanctuary, which faces east”, 44:1).

*Directions in the Temple Scroll, the Bar Kochba texts, and MH*

- a) In the Temple Scroll a position “to the north of” something is expressed by means of a noun of direction followed by a preposition:

מצפּונו (‘‘to the north of the sanctuary’’, 11Q19 XXX 5), צפון להיכל (‘‘to its north and to its south’’, 11Q19 XXXIII 10), ומדרומו במערב (‘‘on its northwest’’, 11Q19 XXX 7), מהמזרח ומהצפון ומהמערב (‘‘on the east and on the north and on the west’’, 11Q19 XXXI 12-13).

Roughly similar in the meaning the expression with the preposition ל:

לנגב ולים ולצפון (‘‘to the south, to the west, and to the north’’, 11Q19 XXXVIII 14)

Combinations are expressed with a preposition and two nouns in a construct chain:

מן פנה למזרח צפון (‘‘from the north eastern corner’’, 11Q19 XXXIX 14).

Alternatively, two nouns may serve the same purpose without the initial preposition.

ועשיתיה בית לכינור נגב מזרח (‘‘and you shall make a house for the laver in the southeast’’, 11Q129 XXXI 10).

There is a single occurrence in the Temple Scroll of the adjective מזרחי (‘‘eastern’’):

במקצול המזרחי צפונה (‘‘in [the northeast [corn]er)’’, 11Q20 X 6. Here the adjective is combined with the noun (צפון) with the locative ending -a to form an expression of intermediary direction (‘‘northeast’’). Apart from this instance the adjectives of direction are not attested in QH.

- b) The Bar Kochba texts, as noted by Muchowski, make frequent use of the nouns of direction without an initial preposition: דרום (‘‘to the south’’, Mur 22 3), מערב (‘‘to the west’’, Mur 30 3).

The construction with a preposition (מן or ל) is also found: מהצפון והדרום (‘‘to the north and the south’’, Mur 30 15), ולדרום (‘‘and to the south’’, P. Yadin 45 15).

Adjectives of direction do not occur in this group of texts.

- c) Looking, finally, at expression of direction in Middot, we find the use of prepositions (ב, ל, or מן) followed by a noun of direction:

חמשה עשר בצפון וחמשה עשר בדרום (‘‘fifteen to the north and fifteen to the south’’, m. Middot IV 3a).

The construction with של replaces the construct chain after a noun of direction:

לצפון של מזבח (‘‘to the north of the altar’’, m. Middot III 5b).

The use of adjectives is also frequent:

על יסוד מערבי ועל יסוד דרומי (‘‘from the north-eastern corner’’, m. Middot IV 5a).

## III. CONCLUSIONS

It is not difficult to see why scholars have described the language of 3Q15 as closely related to MH. A number of conspicuous common features immediately catch the attention of the reader: The consistent use of the plural ending ךְ-, the exclusive use of the relative pronoun ך, the frequent employment of the possessive pronoun ך, and the extensive overlap with MH sources in the vocabulary of the scroll. A detailed analysis shows that there are indeed important points of contact between the language of 3Q15 and MH, but that there are also overlaps with BH (and to a lesser degree with QH) as well as certain features peculiar to the Copper Scroll. The notion that 3Q15 is linguistically rather similar to the Temple Scroll was partly confirmed.

As for the orthographic system of 3Q15, conclusions are hard to draw. There are some similarities with certain Qumran manuscripts (especially the great Isaiah Scroll, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, cf. the preference for *aleph* as a final *mater lectionis*), but orthographic variance is considerable both in biblical scrolls from Qumran and early Mishna manuscripts.

The treatment of pronouns and suffixes in 3Q15 reveals that the scroll is not affiliated with the “Qumran scribal school”. The representation of personal pronouns and suffixes differs from the Qumran system, since the characteristic long forms are not attested in 3Q15 at all. In this respect, the practice of 3Q15 is more akin to the systems known from BH and MH. The frequency of the pronouns ך and ך constitutes an important point of contact with MH as well as with the language of the Bar Kochba texts.

The verbal system is scantily documented in 3Q15, and conclusions must be made with great caution. The use of the infinitive and verbal nouns, however, to denote time corresponds to BH rather than MH usage.

Numerals in 3Q15 are generally treated in a way similar to that found in certain parts of the Hebrew Bible (allegedly “late” books like Ezra, Daniel), with the noun in the plural preceding the numeral. This usage differs from the more common order in BH, QH, and MH. The Temple Scroll has both constructions.

The perhaps most striking affinity to MH is found in the vocabulary of 3Q15. We were able to show that in many cases BH and QH has alternative lexemes which are used to cover the meanings of lexemes shared by 3Q15 and MH.

Analysing the ways in which direction and orientation is expressed in the Copper Scroll when compared to other sources (as done by Muchowski) yields useful insight into similarities and differences between the language of 3Q15 and other types of Hebrew. Here again,

there are points of contact with more than one group of sources, but the frequency of adjectives of direction, a feature shared with MH, is rather conspicuous. The absolute use of nouns of direction (without an initial preposition) is common to 3Q15 and the Bar Kochba texts. The preference for adjectives in 3Q15 and in MH distinguishes their usage from that of BH, where a noun of direction in the absolute state in a construct chain performs the same function (Compare שַׁעַר הַדְּרוֹם, “the south gate”, Ezek 40:28, and יְסוֹד דְּרוֹמִי, “the southern base”, mMiddot III 2b).

To sum up, the conclusion seems inevitable that the language of the Copper Scroll has more points of contact with MH than with any other relevant type of ancient Hebrew. How this affinity should be explained is another matter. Given the complexity which characterizes the linguistic situation of Palestinian Judaism in antiquity we should be advised not to attempt jumping to conclusions regarding matters of chronology or dialectical diversity.

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